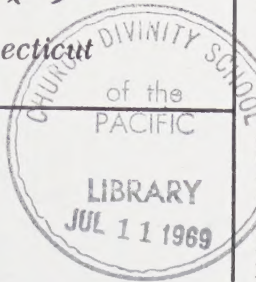


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THE LADY CHAPEL
OF ST. ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL
ABERDEEN, SCOTLAND

LETTER OF DR. FRANKLIN.

The following letter, under date of July, 1784, written by Dr. Franklin, then in Paris, to Messrs. Weems and Gant, citizens of the United States, in London, is not without interest:

Gentlemen :—On receipt of your letter acquainting me that the Archbishop of Canterbury would not permit you to be ordained unless you took the oath of allegiance, I applied to a clergyman of my acquaintance for information on the subject of your obtaining ordination here. His opinion was, that it could not be done; and that if it were done, you would be required to avow obedience to the Archbishop of Paris. I next inquired of the Pope's Nuncio whether you might not be ordained, by the Bishop of America, powers being sent him for the purpose—if he had them not already? The answer was, the thing is impossible, unless the gentlemen become Catholics. This is an affair of which I know but very little, and therefore I may ask questions and propose means that are improper or impracticable. But what is the necessity of your being connected with the Church of England?—Would it not do as well, if you were of the Church of Ireland? The religion is the same, though there is a different set of Bishops and Arch-Bishops. Perhaps if you were to apply to the Bishop of Derry, who is a man of liberal sentiments, he might give you orders, as of that church. If both Britain and Ireland refuse you, (and I am not sure that the Bishop of Denmark or Sweden would ordain you unless you became Lutherans,) what is then to be done? Next to becoming Presbyterians, the Episcopalian Clergy of America, in my humble opinion, cannot do better than to follow the example of the first Clergy of Scotland soon after the conversion of that country to Christianity, when their king had built the Cathedral of St. Andrews, and requested the king of Northumberland to lend his Bishops to ordain one for them, that their Clergy might not, as heretofore, be obliged to go to Northumberland for orders, and their request was refused. They assembled in the Cathedral, and the mitre, crozier, and robes of a Bishop being laid upon the altar, they, after earnest prayers for direction in their choice, elected one of their own number, when the king said to him, "Arise, go to the Altar, and receive your office at the hand of God." His brethren led him to the altar, robed him, put the crozier in his hand, the mitre on his head, and he became the first Bishop of Scotland.

If the British Islands were sunk in the sea, (and the surface of the globe has suffered greater changes,) you would probably take some such method as this, and, if they persist in denying your ordination, it is the same thing. A hundred years hence when people are more enlightened, it will be wondered at, that men in America, qualified by their learning and piety to pray for and instruct their neighbors, should not be permitted to do it till they had made a voyage of six thousand miles out and home, to ask leave of a cross old gentleman at Canterbury, who seems by your account to have as little regard for the souls of the people of Maryland, as King William's attorney, general Seymour, had for those of Virginia. The Reverend Commissary Blair, who projected the College of that province, and was in England to solicit benefactions and a charter, relates, that the Queen, in the king's absence, having ordered Seymour to draw up the charter, which was to be given with £2000 in money, he opposed the grant, saying that the Nation was engaged in an expensive war, that the money was wanted for better purposes, and he did not see the least occasion for a College in Virginia. Blair represented to him that its intention was to educate and qualify young men to be ministers of the gospel, much wanted there, and begged Mr. Attorney would consider that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved as well as the people of England. "Souls," said he, "damn your souls; make tobacco." I have the honor to be, gentlemen, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

The Jarvis Library

By WYMAN W. PARKER

The Reverend Samuel Farmar Jarvis of Middletown, Connecticut, owned what was probably the largest private library in America at the time of his death in 1851. The auction of his more than 8,000 books caused great interest in library circles and many institutions made substantial purchases at the sale. Why is not his name included among the illustrious who were the first great book collectors in America: Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Pastor Thomas Prince of Boston, William Byrd of Westover, James Logan and Isaiah Thomas? There is no readily apparent answer to this, nor is there one to the enigma of his life.

The only surviving son of the Right Reverend Abraham Jarvis, the second Bishop of Connecticut, Samuel Farmar Jarvis became an Episcopal clergyman and was appointed Historiographer of the Episcopal Church in America. He had an ample fortune and was distinguished for his courtly bearing and bland manner; but he had another face which terrified his wife, antagonized associates, and gained the grudging respect of tradesmen. F. B. Dexter in his series of biographies of Yale graduates lauds him as "transparently guileless" while another sketch in *The History of Middlesex County, Connecticut* (N.Y., 1884) states without reservation that "as a man and a Christian he was without reproach." Yet he was notorious as respondent in a divorce case which rocked New England, and the word spread that trouble occurred wherever he served. He married one of the beautiful Hart sisters of Saybrook, yet her imperious ways gained him no preferment in the Church and he came to regard her as the chief impediment to his career.

The sale of his library on November 4, 1851 and ten following evenings brought agents to the New York sale from the best American institutions. The catalog of the sale¹ was one of the earliest prepared by the great bibliographer Joseph Sabin, but serious doubts were expressed that the entire collection belonged to Jarvis—and rightly, too, for the auctioneers had inflated the collection by inserting certain spectacular sets of art books.

Samuel F. Jarvis was born in Middletown in 1786, attended the Episcopal Academy in Cheshire, and graduated from Yale in 1805. He received his Master's degree from Yale in 1808 and was

¹A *Catalogue of the Entire Library of the Late Rev Samuel Farmar Jarvis, D.D., L.L.D., of Middletown, Conn., to be sold at auction on Tuesday, October 14, 1851* [Postponed to November 4, 1851] . . . by Lyman & Rawdon . . . (N. Y., 1851), 219 p. 3274 items.

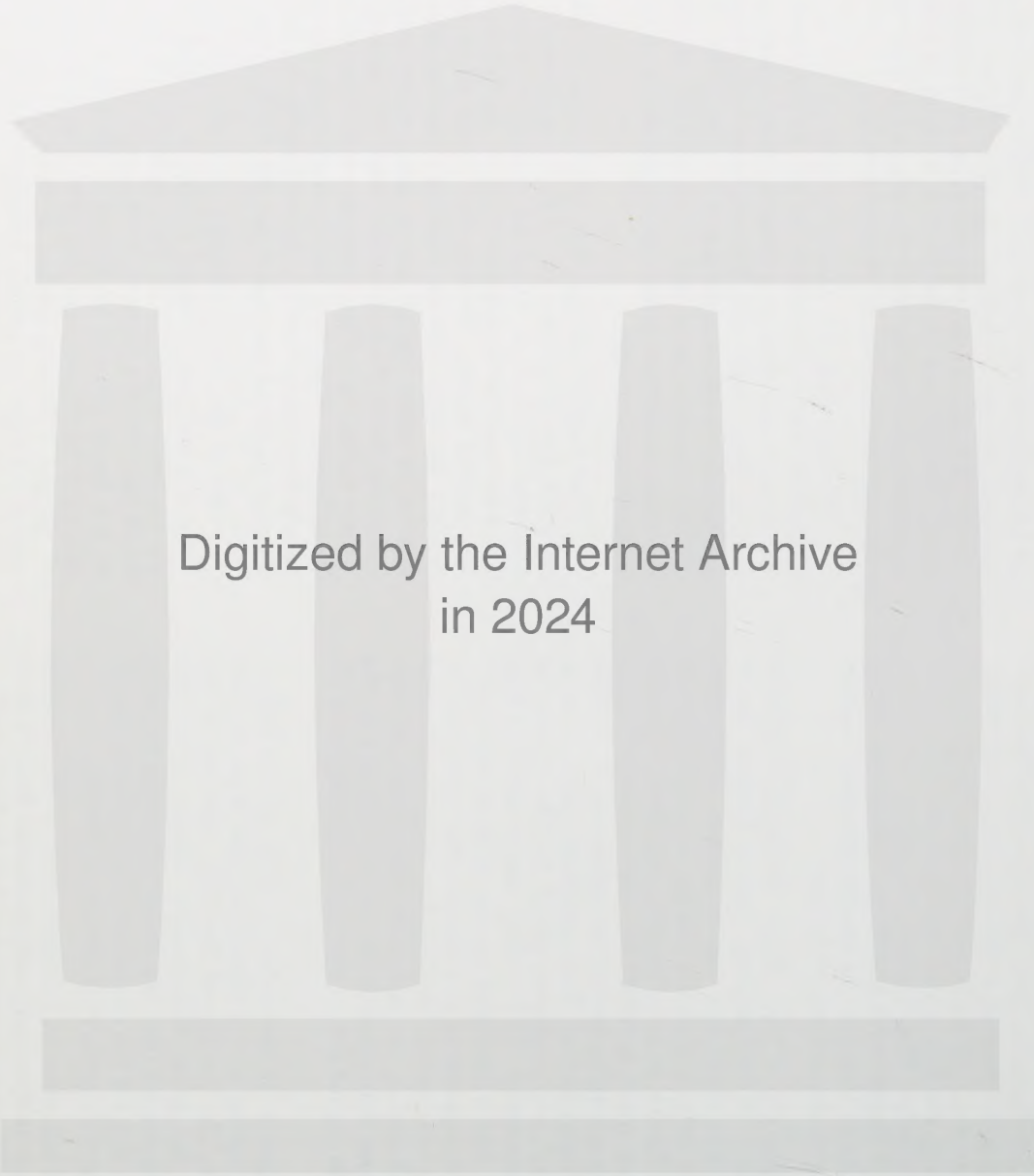
later ordained by his father in Trinity Church, New Haven. He was married by his father, in 1810, to Sarah Hart of Saybrook, "a lady of great personal beauty." He then served St. Michael's Church in Bloomingdale, just north of New York City. He took a leading part in establishing the General Theological Seminary of New York and subsequently taught here, officiating part-time at Trinity Church, New York. The University of Pennsylvania awarded him an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1819. In 1820 he became first Rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, from which he resigned in 1825. The wardens failed to pay him the promised salary of \$2,500, but suspicion was voiced that he was too eager for his own pecuniary interest.

He then took his family to Europe for a stay that was to extend for ten years. Before he left he deposited his library with his close friend Bishop Brownell, then president of Washington College. This newly established Episcopal college of Connecticut was located in Hartford where it now flourishes as Trinity College. At this date the Jarvis library must have numbered about 4,000 volumes, basically a gathering of theological books formerly owned by prominent divines.

Washington College then publicized its book resources and reported that its library of 5,000 volumes was "second in magnitude and first in value of all the country."² While the Jarvis books were not exactly contemporary, they included a good selection of Continental poetry, French plays, and much history which enlivened the total college holdings and increased undergraduate reading to some degree. Jarvis made substantial additions to his collection from abroad as indicated by correspondence and the yearly published college statistics. But some thought that sending these books to the college was a Jarvis dodge to avoid customs payments. It is likely that Dr. Jarvis doubled his total book collection through judicious buying in Europe during this period.

One of the best purchases he made was about 400 volumes from the historian Edward Gibbon's library. William Beckford, the eccentric author of *Vathek*, is known to have had deposits of books in different parts of Europe that he did not bother to ship to his home library in England. Beckford purchased Gibbon's library from the executor for £950, reputedly giving this account: "I bought Gibbon's library to have something to read when I passed through Lausanne. I shut myself up for six weeks from early in the morning until night, only now and then taking a

²I am indebted to Historian Glenn Weaver and Librarian Donald Engley, both of Trinity College, for facts about the Jarvis library at the college. Dr. Weaver generously allowed me to consult the pertinent chapter of his then unpublished history of Trinity.



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ride. The people thought me mad. I read myself nearly blind. I made a present of the library to my physician."³ And it was from the physician, Dr. Frederic Schöll, that Jarvis purchased these 400 carefully chosen volumes for 550 francs (about \$100) in August, 1834. He inquired about a special discount for a bulk purchase and was granted 25 per cent on the prices marked in Schöll's catalog of 1833. However, Fannie Schöll, writing for her father,⁴ denied Jarvis' suggestion that their catalog prices were fixed on those quoted in Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire* and claimed they had set them 1/3 to 1/2 less.

Although only 39 titles comprising 79 volumes have been identified by Sabin as belonging to Gibbon in the sale catalog, from these it is apparent that Jarvis bought heavily and well in the area of voyages and travel. In this category Jarvis had first editions by Meares, Portlock, and Purchas, and such items as Bruce's *Travels to discover the source of the Nile* (5 v., Edinburgh, 1790), Chandler's *Travels in Greece* (Oxford, 1776) and the first published edition in English of Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (London, 1787). There was some history, such as Speed's *History of Great Britain* (London, 1629) which sold at the Jarvis sale for \$6.00, Birch's *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth's Reign* (2 v., London, 1754), and Grotius' *Annales et Historiae de Rebus Belgicis* (Amsterdam, 1657). There were older editions of the classics such as Caesar (Lyons, 1737), Cato (Amsterdam, 1759), Cicero (9 v., Paris, 1740), Longinus (Utrecht, 1694), Pindar (Oxford, 1697), and Sophocles (Geneva, 1568). Gibbon's copy of Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis* (2 v., Matriti, 1750) was unusual, published for presentation by the King only. This copy, mentioned particularly in the preface of the Jarvis sale catalog, sold for \$13.00 at the auction.

Washington (Trinity) College was grateful for the use of the Jarvis library and appointed Jarvis Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature in 1828, a position he held in *absentia* until prompted in 1835 by domestic difficulties to return alone from Europe to begin his teaching obligations. He taught an elective course in Hebrew in the fall of 1835 which, as Hebrew was not normally an undergraduate discipline, was not particularly successful and it is doubtful that he ever taught any further classes. In the meantime he was not happy about the treatment accorded his library, for certain of the books were found missing. In fact Jarvis and President Wheaton came into public disagree-

³*The Library of Edward Gibbon* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1950), p. 28.

⁴Fannie Schöll to Dr. Jarvis, Lausanne, July 23, 1834. Jarvis Papers, New York Public Library.

ment and shortly afterward, in 1837, Wheaton resigned. There is some reason to believe that Jarvis may have intrigued for the presidency. At any rate another was chosen and Jarvis was cleared of responsibility for instigating a student memorial regarding the election of a president. Fortunately at this juncture Christ Church (now Holy Trinity), Middletown, called him as rector, and Jarvis resigned his professorship and left Hartford. The college awarded him an honorary Doctorate of Laws at commencement, 1837, as consolation, no doubt. Naturally Jarvis took his library with him and Washington College, no longer able to boast of a large book collection of 14,000 volumes, dropped all mention of library statistics from its catalog for a decade, until their library had built its 4,000-volume residue to a more respectable 6,000.

Back at his birthplace, the Reverend Jarvis bought a run-down tavern on the main street and began extensive and expensive alterations to restore its former grandeur as a private residence. These preparations, estimated at the trial to have cost about \$20,000, were not completed when his wife and children arrived unexpectedly from Stamford where they had been living during the year since their return from Paris. The minister's wife had been in residence less than a year when conflicting rumors of marital strife agitated the parish and Mrs. Jarvis' request for a divorce became public knowledge.

2

The Jarvis divorce trial held for Connecticut all the elements of a Greek tragedy: a rich and handsome minister, son of a respected Bishop, after 28 years of marriage to one of the famous beauties of the state, being sued for divorce before the Legislature in 1839; the important and established families of the state were lined up on either side to influence opinion or actually to testify, while the residents of Middletown, parishioners, vestrymen, laborers, and servants were as avidly partisan; her petition accused him of neglect and physical violence, and even intimated adultery, while his remonstrance alleged her maliciousness, wild extravagances, erratic and vindictive behavior, and even insanity. In the testimony there were pathetic glimpses of the children cowering in corners during scenes of violence, yet withal bearing witness for one or the other parent. An exotic element was introduced in the recounting of such episodes from their residence in Siena or Florence and the mention of fashionable parties and of court appearances in Paris, all played with supporting roles taken by French maids, German governesses, and Italian cooks.

Sarah Hart Jarvis may not have been the "vixen" wife that a Wesleyan University student was led to believe in 1841, but she was extravagant, overbearing, and deliberately aggravating. After nearly three decades of marriage she undoubtedly preferred

of April, 1848, ended the controversy by a telling criticism of the book showing that Jarvis had failed to document his differences from the accepted authorities in his main thesis on the date of the birth of Christ. Jarvis brought out another weighty volume the year prior to his death, *The Church Redeemed, or the History of the Mediatorial Kingdom, Vol. I* (Boston and London, 1850), but it covers the same ground as *history* rather than *chronology* and certainly did not come within recognizable historical distance of the American Church, let alone the Church of England. This is a pity, for Jarvis is believed to be the first American High Churchman to mention specifically the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament.⁵

The Jarvis library had an indentivity of its own in Middletown. The townspeople boasted of it to travellers as shown by a newly arrived Wesleyan student on first writing to his father, the Hon. Micha Talbot of East Machias, Maine, mentioning the magnificent Jarvis house and library of "about 100,000 volumes." The books were shelved in various rooms of the house in carrying cases which were designed to be arranged in tiers to form book cases. It is probable that some of these cases had actually been used to ship books from abroad, as a Trinity student described the library when housed at Trinity as placed in great foreign-looking cases.⁶ Naturally the Trinity faculty in nearby Hartford knew the composition of the library and the Reverend Thomas Robbins had heard of it before visiting Middletown. He owned a sizable collection of books of his own on New England then on deposit at the Connecticut Historical Society where he was serving as librarian. The Jarvis library exceeded his expectations, being "very large and costly." His impression of the library at the time of Dr. Jarvis' funeral was that most of the works were European, some being quite ancient. Shortly after Dr. Jarvis moved his library to Middletown, he estimated the collection at 10,000 volumes and had Chancellor Kent of New York appraise it at \$50,000. It did, in fact, comprise 8,276 volumes at his death and sold at auction for nearly \$13,000, a huge sum in those days.

The trustees of the Jarvis estate turned the books over for auction in New York. Lyman & Rawdon had just bought out the established firm of Cooley & Keese, retaining Mr. Keese as auctioneer for this sale.

The catalog of the Jarvis books was prepared by Joseph Sabin, the great bibliographer and bookseller, who subsequently cataloged many important collections before beginning his great multi-

⁵In a note to his printed sermon preached before the Board of Missions in 1836.

⁶These cases were offered for sale at the end of the auction of Jarvis books in 1851.

to live her own life uncurbed by an often penurious husband and unencumbered by a vindictive, rural parish. Even if she did pine for a regal life in Europe, no minister's wife in 19th century New England could successfully reside in a parish after having publicly stated that she "had been the slave of a host of vulgar clergy, and would rather one of her daughters should follow the trail of a plough than to marry a clergyman."

This priest of the Church was eulogized by Dexter as being "transparently guileless in character and sincere in his Christian faith" but he also was purse-proud and disliked by those not under the spell of his friendship. He had been indulgent with his wife's extravagances but there were times when he called her to account for the "handle of a tea cup." He despaired of her scale of living but, after cutting her off from funds, would have to borrow to pay her debts. His precious library was apparently never slighted and he was likewise proud of his art collection, once the property of Archbishop Joseph Capece Latro.

The French governess of the family in service in Middletown was called to testify, but her English was so poor than an interpreter was called. She alleged Dr. Jarvis was economical and honest and a very kind man in his family. Nevertheless she did apply to him the colloquial phrase that "he would flog a flea to have the skin." Testimony by the only surviving son, Samuel Fermor, made it quite clear that the Reverend Mr. Jarvis felt that but for his wife's actions he would have been made a Bishop.

The Connecticut Legislature denied Mrs. Jarvis' petition for divorce in 1839 and her petition for the same in New York was blocked by legislation fostered by her husband's lawyers. The Connecticut Legislature did grant the decree in 1842 and Mrs. Jarvis was awarded \$600 annually for support. So great was the division in his Middletown church that Jarvis had to resign from his parish. Although he remained in Middletown, he continued his priestly offices by building up a congregation in the Maromas section of town which did not survive his death in 1851.

In 1838 he was appointed Historiographer of the Episcopal Church and charged with writing a history of this Church in America. This position he continued to fill, working within the general mandate laid down by the General Convention to prepare from the most original sources then extant a faithful Ecclesiastical History reaching from the Apostles' times to the formation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. His *Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church* . . . (London, 1844; N. Y., 1845) did bring his text to 238 A. D. However pleased the divines may have been with the work, it was attacked by the historians. Prof. James L. Kingsley of Yale in *The New England*

volumed bibliography, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America*. This catalog was one of the first he was called upon to make, and it was important because the Jarvis collection was "the finest collection of books which, up to that time, had been sold at auction in this country."⁷ He worked overtime on these book descriptions. The bill was larger than his employers had visualized and they objected to paying it. Therefore, Sabin, an individualist, refused to deliver the manuscript until his bill was paid. The next year, Lyman & Rawdon reduced Sabin's salary and he promptly threw up his position for one at a higher salary at the rival auction house of Bangs Brothers.

Lyman & Rawdon were justified in advertising the Jarvis collection as "the most extensive and valuable library ever sold in America." However they were hardly justified in adding a substantial group of other books to this sale of Jarvis books. It was very likely Sabin who passed the word to the book trade generally that the collection did not entirely consist of Jarvis books. Thus the standard bibliography of *American Book Auction Catalogs* compiled by George McKay (N. Y., 1937) carries the damaging, "This catalogue is believed to list, besides Rev. Jarvis' library, much property that did not belong to him." The Jarvis collection therefore has not had a fair chance of establishing itself by the catalog alone, for it was not evident which books listed actually belonged to the Rev. Samuel F. Jarvis.

However, the Jarvis trustees were allowed time to file a printed list of the books for probate at the Middletown court. It now is evident that this list is a copy of the auction catalog minus the wrappers, preliminary advertisements, and addenda.⁸ It is obvious from scratched out titles on the probate copy that some 19 additional titles had been inserted in the back of the catalog, probably after Sabin delivered the manuscript of the collection. The addenda consists of 55 items, some of which are fairly spectacular, such as the elephant folio (7 v.) of Audubon's *Birds of America*, which went for \$445.00, sets of the *Musée Français Napoleon* (4 v.) which fetched \$90.00, *Musée Royal Napoleon* (3 v.) which brought \$100.00, and "Napoleon's Great Work on the Antiquities and Natural History of Egypt" (33 v.) auctioned at \$104.00. Thus there were added some 75 titles, sold for an additional \$2,500, which have thrown doubt on the composition of the Jarvis collection.

⁷*New York Times*, June 6, 1881; Sabin obituary, probably prepared by Sabin himself.

⁸I am indebted to Mrs. Arthur Tilton of Hartford for the lead which uncovered this fortunate fact. She is presently working on a biography of S. F. Jarvis, one of her ancestors.

The eleven days' sale scheduled to begin October 14, 1851 and postponed to November 4, attracted the bookish and scholarly and the books brought very fair prices. Some of the institutions whose representatives made purchases were Harvard, Yale, Brown, Princeton; General, Rochester and Andover theological seminaries; The Smithsonian Institution, the New York State Library at Albany. *

The highest price was paid for Lot No. 750, *Byzantinae Historiae Scriptores* in 40 volumes, which was unique because of the unpublished MS translation of the third volume of Nicephorus Gregoras made to the order of Pope Pius VI. Prof. George Ticknor, who gave his fine library of 2,400 volumes of Spanish and Portuguese Literature to the Boston Public Library in 1860, was the purchaser at \$475.00. The historian George Bancroft bought the 2-volume set of tracts, No. 69, *The American Whig, etc.* (N. Y., 1768) for \$22.75. John Wiley, the publisher-bookseller, purchased No. 1703, Tyndale's translation of the Pentateuch (Hans Luft, Malborow, 1530), the first portion of the New Testament printed in English, for the incredibly low sum of \$4.00, while George Livermore of Cambridge for \$100.00 added the Paris Polygot, No. 1638, (10 v., Paris, 1645) to his fine collection of Bibles.

Rochester Theological Seminary (now the Colgate Rochester Divinity School) bought two of the great Polyglots (No. 1634, The Complutensian, 1514-17, and No. 1636, The Antwerp, 1569-72) for \$130.00 and \$44.00 and two great Bibles (No. 1699, Cranmer's, 1540, and No. 1701, The Bishop's Bible, 1583) for \$26.00 and \$51.00. The General Theological Seminary bought No. 958, Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (31 v., Mediolani, 1723-51), for \$207.00. Harvard for \$40.00 got No. 1650, the scholarly Greek Septuagint (5 v., Oxford, 1798-1827) formerly in Bishop Van Mildert's Library. Librarian Reuben Guild bought 386 volumes, of which about 30 volumes nearly completed Brown's extensive collection of Greek and Latin Fathers. Brown secured many good items for historical research, such as No. 827, Duchesne's *Historiae Francorum Scriptores* (5 v., Paris, 1636-49 for \$24.50). Guild dryly remarked of a few of the Brown purchases, "Some of the books added derive a bibliomaniacal value from having belonged to the library of Gibbon." It is doubtful that he was referring to more than two titles: Chandler's *Travels in Greece* (Oxford, 1776) and Spanheim's *Numismatum Antiquorum* (2 v., London, 1706; Amsterdam, 1717).

Naturally enough, about half the Jarvis library is of a religious nature. Much of it was dated even in his day. His library originally represented accumulations of the older libraries of his father, Bishop Abraham Jarvis, and of the Connecticut Loyalist,

graphie Universelle (Paris, 1811-28), some of his dictionaries and lexicons and some of the liturgia. The bibliography in which he had a special interest is still very good: Brunet, *De Bure, Du Cange, Rich's Bibliotheca Americana Nova* (London, 1835), and Renouard's *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde* (3 v., Paris, 1825).

The history section was quite extensive and exhibited a wide range and considerable depth. There were such grandiose resources as Petitot's *Memoires Relatifs à l'Histoire de France* (both series, 131 v., Paris, 1824-29) and Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (31 v.) beside such standards as Speed's *History of Great Britaine* (Gibbon's copy, London, 1627) and Wood's *Atheneae Oxoniensis* (2 v., London, 1691-2).

The Jarvis library was very strong in the classics as would be expected of a gentleman's collection. Among these were a good number of Gibbon's books and other early and choice editions, beautifully printed and elaborately bound. There were half a dozen *editio princeps* such as Seneca's *Opera* (Naples, 1475) and a like number of incunabula including the Ratdolt Appianus (Venice, 1477). Another notable incunabulum, the Landino Dante (Florence, 1481) with the Botticelli illustrations, sold for \$21.00 at the auction. The finest printers were represented, from the scholarly editions of Aldus and Estienne to the closely-printed Elzeviers and those of Officini Hackiana (Lyons). The handsome Paris productions of Didot and the Typographia Regia were there, as well as the best of the English by Oxford University, Foulis of Edinburgh, and Baskerville's Terence (Birmingham, 1773).

Besides the large paper folios so favored by wealthy collectors of the early 19th century, there were scholarly editions of Burmann, Ficino, H. Estienne, and many of the admirable Delphin classics translated for Francis the First. The 72mo Horace (Leyden, 1627) reputed to be the smallest printed, sold for \$4.10, a good price then for a curiosity.

Sabin's annotations for this section of the catalog leaned heavily on Dibdin's now out-dated *Introduction to . . . the Greek and Latin Classics* with the compiler's strong emphasis on typography and frank enthusiasm for the lavish. Certain items in this category went very well at the sale, such as Gibbon's Olivet edition of Cicero (9 v., Paris, 1740—now in the New York Public Library) for \$37.00, Gibbon's Caesar with the Voss, Davis, and Clarke notes (2 v., Lyons, 1737) for \$8.76, and the *editio princeps* of Seneca (Naples, 1475) at \$16.50. The Bermann Petronius (Amsterdam, 1743) went for \$6.00 but Gibbon's copies of Pindar's *Carmina* (Oxford, 1698) and Longinus' *De Sublimitate* (Utrecht, 1694) only fetched \$2.12 and \$1.60 respectively at the auction.

the Reverend Leaming, and of the Reverend Chandler of New York. Much of the English theology came from these libraries, the dates of publication suggesting that one collection was made sometime after 1740 and another made sometime after 1800.⁹ There are, for example, hardly any items in the polemics section between these dates. Curiously enough, he had only the Latin edition (Lyons, 1723) of Cudworth's *Intellectual System*. That Jarvis clearly did not collect theology is substantiated by his books on the Deism controversy which seem to be those of a previous generation.

Ecclesiastical history in the library likewise is extensive but dated, not unlike his own. . . . *History of the Church* (N. Y., 1845). It seems evident that Dr. Jarvis loved to collect the older books and that he took pride in the extent of his collection. His visitors usually commented on the size of his library and noted that he had many old books from abroad. It is likely that he bought some books in lots, that is, collections made by others. Of course, he bought continually while in Europe and undoubtedly was unable to resist a bargain.

His collection of versions of the Bible was unusually fine. All the four great polyglots—Complutensian, Antwerp, the Paris (10 v., 1645), and Walton's (6 v., London, 1659)—were in his library and fetched good prices at the auction. There were many interesting separate editions of the Bible in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and even in Oriental languages such as Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Syriac. The English ones were very interesting and well chosen: Tyndale's Pentateuch (1530), Cranmer's *Byble* (1539), a fragment of Erasmus' paraphrase of the New Testament (1548), a late Breeches or Geneva version (London, 1606) secured by Rochester Seminary, and Volume 1 of the Douay (1601). Curiously enough, there was no first edition of the King James (1611), but surely he must have given his copy of this most desirable of all collectors' editions to his son, who had already entered upon a ministerial career before Jarvis' final prolonged illness.

His series of Greek and Latin Fathers was very fine. In fact, Jarvis leaned toward research books and acquired weighty references and basic texts. His reference books were very solid and very good, particularly in history. He had many scholarly collections of writings, of which the previously mentioned *Byzantine Historiae Scriptores* was the most impressive. There were fine references and contemporary ones, such as the 52-volume *Bio-*

⁹¹ I am deeply grateful to the Reverend Clement Welsh, Canon Theologian of the College of Preachers of the Washington Cathedral, who graciously consented to comment on this aspect of the Jarvis Collection.

In spite of the fact that Jarvis had purchased the entire art collection of the late Archbishop of Taranto of the Kingdom of Naples, it is possible to regard the purchase as an investment (probably not a good one in view of the number of dubious attributions) and to feel Jarvis' ownership more a matter of prestige than of commitment. It was early for an American to acquire enough paintings, drawings, and sketches to take up two auction days for disposal (October 21 and 22, 1851), but even so they did not sell well and the residue was sent to England for the London market. It is obvious that the Rev. Dr. Jarvis had none of the devotion and discrimination that enabled James Jackson Jarves to acquire in Europe in the mid-century one of the finest collections of Italian primitives to come to America. That the Reverend Doctor bought most of his pictures as a lot may be deduced from his library, for he owned none of the critical works and essays concerning individual artists which could have given him the necessary background to cope with dealers or even to share knowledge and interest with other amateur collectors. The twenty odd titles in the art section of his library include Canova, Cellini and Leonardo with several heavy Italian works of copious dimension such as Baldinucci's *Opere* (14 v. in 12, half russia, uncut, Milan, 1808), Conte Ciagnora's *Storia della Scultura e di Plastica* (8 v., half russia, Prato, 1824) and three sets (totalling 13 v.) by Luigi Lanzi. Included inevitably were Flaxman's illustrations for the *Odysssey* (London, 1803) and the *Iliad* (Florence, 1826). The New York auction audience was apathetic to most of these offerings but bid up to \$36.00 for Charles Perault's *Les Hommes Illustrés qui ont paru en France pendant ce siècle* (2 v., Paris, 1697-1700) with 200 portraits by Edelinck.

However, his interest in antiquities was more direct and in contemporary fashion. He owned a good number of classics such as Champollion and Winkelman and an account of the newly uncovered Nineveh by Layard (N. Y., 1845). There were numerous accounts of cabinets of Roman coins and medals (some formerly Gibbon's), as well as several substantial sets on the popular discoveries of Etruscan remains. There were fine sets on Egyptian antiquities and Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales* (5 v., London, 1783), but no Dugdale. As one would expect of a handsome 19th century library, there was a set in imperial folio of *Antichità di Ercolano* (9 v., 1759-92) bound in red morocco, which brought a good price of \$76.50 at the auction.

Interestingly enough, the Rev. Mr. Jarvis had a fine selection of choice titles in his library in science. In common with many educated men of the early 19th century, not only was he able to keep well informed on scientific developments but also he was actively interested and curious about scientific possibilities. He

was, for example, in 1835, organizer and president of the Connecticut Society of Natural History. His copy of Buffon (45 v., Paris, 1749-1804) was the valuable first edition, printed at the Imprimerie Royal. His was the set which Louis XVI presented to Dr. Aubrey of the Sorbonne and it brought a good return of \$78.75 at the auction. Baron Cuivier's *Recherches sur les Ossements Fossiles des Quadrupèdes* (4 v., Paris, 1812) was likewise a first edition of an important book. His Wilson's *American Ornithology* (9 v., Philadelphia, 1808), a first edition, brought \$28.00; today this edition sells at auction for \$260.00.

Rees' *Cyclopedia* (47 v., Philadelphia) was not supplemented by his earlier works on Natural Philosophy by Bonnet (9 v., 1779-83), Margaret Bryan (London, 1803), Hume (4 v., 1770), and Hutcheson (3 v., 1755). However, he did own the popular *Philosophy of Natural History* (1839) by the "brilliant and bibulous" William Smellie.

Scientific classics were very well represented by the *editio princeps* of Euclid, that scarce folio of the oldest textbook of science printed by Ratdolt (Venice, 1482). This sold in 1851 for a mere \$2.63 whereas in 1962 copies of this edition sold for £1,100 and \$1,450.00. Galelei's *Opera* (13 v., Milan, 1808) was accompanied by an early edition of Harvey's *De Motu Cordis et Sanguinis* (Rotterdam, 1648), an 18mo in vellum which only brought \$1.25 at the sale.

Bailly's *Astronomie* (5 v., Paris, 1785-7) and Humboldt's *Observations Astronomiques* (2 v., Paris, 1810) were the basic volumes in this area, while chemistry was represented by lesser authorities, such as J. A. Chaptal (3 v., Paris, 1803), Keating (Philadelphia, 1824) and T. Thomson (Philadelphia, 1803). Traditional architecture was covered by such classics as Vignole (Bassano, 1787), Palladio (4 v., 1776-83) and a folio in vellum of Vitruvius (Naples, 1758).

Dr. Jarvis was apparently intrigued by the contemporary fascination with phrenology, for he owned Bessière's *Introduction de la Phrenologie* (Paris, 1836) and Combe's *System of Phrenology* (Boston, 1833) as well as Dr. Morton's valuable anthropological researches *Crania Americana* (Philadelphia, 1839), a folio of 78 plates and colored map which sold at the auction for \$13.50.

Jarvis made some attempt to keep up with current American investigations, for he owned transactions of the American Philosophical Society and the New York Historical Society; but it was unusual that he did not have the popular *American Antiquities* by Caleb Atwater (American Antiquarian Society Transactions, v. 1, 1833). His close friend Frederick De Peyster was an officer of the New York Historical Society before which Jarvis delivered

"A Discourse on the Religion of the Indian Tribes of North America" in 1819 which was published in their *Collections* (v. 3, 1821). It is a scholarly—and dull—production documented from the best sources, many of which were present in the Jarvis library. Apparently Dr. Jarvis then lost interest in this subject (unlike his friend George Brinley of Hartford who once owned 6 Eliot Indian Bibles—now fabulously rare), for the only American Indian books he owned were a Delaware Indian and English Speller (Philadelphia, 1776) and a New Testament in Chippewa (Albany, 1833). Such curiosities today would bring several hundred per cent over the \$2.30 and \$1.25, respectively, which they brought at the 1851 auction.

The Jarvis collection of travels to the New World was unusually good. It contained very early editions of such classics as Acosta (1596), which sold for a mere \$2.12; Garcilasso's *Histoire des Incas* and *Conquete de la Floride* (2 v., Amsterdam, 1727); Herrera (4 v. in 2, Anvers, 1728) which sold for \$4.25; and the Black Letter first English translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades, or the Neue World in West India* (London, 1555), which rightly sold for \$20.00 at the sale. With the exception of Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* (London, 1583), the group lacked but a few real rarities, such as Captain John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England* . . . (London, 1624) and Thomas Hariot's *Briefe Report . . . of Virginia* (London, 1588), to be truly outstanding.

Sir Thomas Grenville had already spent a lifetime selecting a really great collection of voyages that he had recently bequeathed to the British Museum. Henry Stevens of Vermont was just at this time aiding John Carter Brown and James Lenox to build even greater collections of travel to the New World, but this was their major field of collecting and both men were very rich. As it was, Jarvis owned Gibbon's fine copy of a first edition of *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (5 v., London, 1625-6), Pigafetta (Milan, 1800), and the first edition of Ramusio (3 v., Venice, 1565-83), with many other fine items such as Hennepin (1698) and Hontan (1705). It is remarkable that these were all acquired before the fashion for collecting Americana became wide spread. His high spots of travel were appreciated at the time of the sale, for such cornerstones as Purchas and Ramusio fetched the solid prices of \$101.00 and \$21.00 respectively. These compare reasonably as auction records, for Astor Librarian Joseph Cogswell was paying Henry Stevens in London at this time £28 for a first Purchas in red morocco, and four guineas for a set of Ramusio.

Many other titles of the Jarvis travel collection came from Gibbon's library, such as the first Meares' *Voyage* . . . [in search of] a *North West Passage* (London, 1790), Harris' *Collection of*

Voyages (London, 1764), and Swinburne's *Travels Through Spain* (London, 1779). Naturally, he owned copies of Wesleyan's President Wilbur Fisk's *Travels on the Continent of Europe* (N. Y., 1839) and Yale's President Dwight's *Travels in New England* (4 v., New Haven, 1821).

This entire book collection merits more attention than it has had previously. If doubt had not been cast upon the Jarvis collection because of the impossibility of identifying his books within the auction sale, Jarvis would undoubtedly have been considered in Carl Cannon's *American Book Collectors and Collecting from Colonial Times to the Present* (N. Y., 1941). In spite of the fact that many of the Jarvis books may have been secured *en bloc*, the Reverend Doctor Jarvis exercised discrimination in expensive purchase in a goodly number of fields over a considerable time. If one suspects that most of the selectivity in voyages to the New World was originally the choice of Gibbon, nevertheless Jarvis had to choose these in turn from Gibbon's large and diverse library. Furthermore, there were many creditable areas in which Jarvis could have had no aid at all.

It was an exceedingly large collection of books for anyone to have assembled as a private library in America prior to the middle of the 19th century. It contained some very unusual and rare books as well as most desirable source material in many areas. Fine institutional libraries benefited decidedly by skillful purchases at the Jarvis sale. It is very likely that Jarvis' claim to any remembrance now or by subsequent generations will be because of his book collection.

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Addendum: On page 4 above, among the institutions that purchased Dr. Jarvis' books should also be mentioned The General Theological Seminary of Chelsea Square, New York City, whose librarian, Dr. Niels Sonne, reports that it acquired 1,348 volumes (or nearly one eighth of the total collection) for \$3,143. The selection was made by the faculty of the G.T.S. and the money was supplied by the Society for Promoting Religion and Learning.

1922 - 1923



"DEEDS SPEAK"

Annual Report

and

TRANSACTION NO. 23

of

THE WOMEN'S CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF TORONTO

Organized November 19th, 1895

Incorporated February 14th, 1896

LETTERS TO
SAMUEL PETERS



REV. SAMUEL PETERS, D.D.

Women's Canadian Historical Society OF TORONTO

TRANSACTION NO. 23

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1922-1923

Letters from the Secretary of Upper Canada and Mrs. Jarvis, to her father, the Rev. Samuel Peters, D.D.

Prefatory Note

By
PROFESSOR A. H. YOUNG,
Trinity College, Toronto.

William Jarvis, the first Grand Master of Free Masons and the first Secretary and "Register" of the Province of Upper Canada, owed this latter appointment, as other former officers of the Queen's Rangers subsequently owed theirs, to the good offices of the late Commanding Officer, Colonel John Graves Simcoe, upon his becoming the first Lieutenant-Governor of the new Province. Just when the Secretary-to-be had gone to England, after the hopelessness of the struggle of the Loyalists against the American rebels had become evident, does not appear. It is certain, however, that he and his wife, Hannah Peters, whom he married in England, arrived in Quebec, after a stormy, perilous voyage, in 1792, about the date of the formal constitution of the Government of Upper Canada, at Kingston, July 8th.

The letters printed in this volume were addressed to Mrs. Jarvis' father, the Rev. Samuel Peters, D.D., a native of the Province of Connecticut and a graduate of Yale College, who, from 1759 to 1774, had been Rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Hebron. He was the fourth candidate for ordination in twenty years sent over by the parish to receive orders in England at the hands of the Bishop of London, who then and till 1787 had the sole Episcopal oversight of the Colonies throughout the British Empire. The young ordinand bore a letter of recommendation from the Rev. Matthew Graves of New London, whose brother John Graves was likewise a "servant" of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and whose own mission, apparently, had, down to 1759, included Hebron.

During Mr. Peters' sojourn in London he was so unfortunate as to contract small-pox, which moved the Society to make him a grant of £20 in order to help him meet the extraordinary expense to which he was thus put. Having been priested subsequently to May 5, 1759, he returned to Hebron as the Society's missionary, with a salary of £20, which was, in 1763, increased to £30 because of his parishioners' neglect to subscribe liberally to his support. They thought, mistakenly, that this small salary, his patrimony, and the glebe, which they had provided, ought to afford him a sufficient living.

The Rev. Samuel Peters, D.D.

A favourable report of the young missionary was sent home by his sponsor, Mr. Graves, in December, 1760. In 1762 the Society voted him two gratuities of £10 each for visiting voluntarily Taunton, Sharon, Norwich, Middletown, Simsbury, Glassenbury, Wallingford, and other places. At later dates Millington, Hartford, Coventry, Mansfield, Bolton, Hartland, Litchfield, Middle Haddan, and Killingsworth are mentioned as places to which he ministered.

In 1770 he tells of preaching before the Convention of the Clergy at Litchford and of sacrifice that had been committed against the Church at Hartford by "dissenters." In obedience to the suggestion, if not the command, of the Convention, he appears to have taken services more or less regularly at Hartford thereafter, making, also in 1770, a long, arduous missionary journey of nearly seven weeks, with his clerk, up the Connecticut River, over the Green Mountains, to Fort Miller, 50 miles south of Albany.

In the spring of 1767 he had referred in his letter to the Society to "the many storms and tumults in this part of America," adding, however, that his people "are so conspicuously loyal, charitable, and just, that 12 heads of families have joined the church." Yet in 1770-1771 he asked for leave to remove to Portsmouth because of their continued disregard of their financial obligations toward him.

Apparently he was one of the first Loyalist clergymen, if not the very first, to incur the displeasure of the "Sons of Liberty," by his brave, stout resistance to their rebellious proceedings. He was forced to flee in 1774, taking refuge first in Boston, Mass., and eventually in England. In England, his resources naturally becoming exhausted, he was, in 1775, voted by the Society, as a recognition of his missionary zeal and his staunch loyalty, a gratuity of 20 Guineas, "in consideration of his distressed case." In April of the same year the Society, by formal resolution, prevailed upon the willing Archbishop of Canterbury to bring the refugee's petition regarding his losses to the attention of my Lord North.

These potent influences, however, did not procure succour for him betimes or prevent him from enduring a sojourn in the Fleet as a prisoner for debt. From this unpleasant situation, the result of his steadfast adherence to the Unity of the British Empire, he was rescued by the filial piety of Mr. and Mrs. Jarvis, who, as the letters show, had financial difficulties of their own. He in turn used his utmost endeavour to forward Mr. Jarvis' petitions for redress in the matter of what the latter deemed unjust alterations of the scale of fees of office, to which, as Secretary of the Province, he had been at first entitled.

Albeit Dr. Peters was never a resident of Upper Canada, his name appeared at one time upon its list of United Empire Loyalists. He had been, in 1790-1791, recommended by Colonel Simcoe, without avail, for appointment as Bishop of Upper Canada, after having, as it was believed, been disappointed of the bishopric of Nova Scotia, in 1787. Though elected afterwards Bishop of Vermont, which, before its acceptance of the Constitution of the United States, he had tried, being misled by the Allen brothers, to bring back to the British allegiance, he failed to obtain consecration in England and in the United States.

After enjoying a pension in Great Britain, of which it is said, he was deprived through the displeasure of Pitt, he returned in 1805, to his native country to live. Being then 70 years of age, he did not resume the exercise of his clerical functions. He petitioned the Congress, unsuccessfully, for the recognition of his claim to several millions of land in the neighbourhood of St. Anthony's Falls, on the Mississippi, which he stated that he had bought from Jonathan Carver, who had derived his right from the Indians. His History of Connecticut is somewhat famous.

His death occurred in New York, at the age of 91 years, on the 19th of April, 1826. He had only two children who grew to maturity, Mrs. Jarvis, the surviving offspring of his first wife, Hannah Owen, and William Birdseye, whose mother, Mary Birdseye, died some three weeks after her son's birth. Between these two wives there was a second, Abigail Gilbert, whose death took place about a fortnight after her marriage.

Mrs. Jarvis survived both her father and her husband and spent the latter part of her life at Queenston, Upper Canada (Ontario), with her daughter, Mrs. John Hamilton, a daughter-in-law of the Honourable Robert Hamilton, one of the first members of the Legislative Council of the Province. William Birdseye Peters, who was born in the year of his father's withdrawal to England, lived in Hebron with his maternal grandfather till he was fourteen or more. Then he joined his father in the Old Country and went up to the University of Oxford, subsequently studying law in London. After acting as deputy to Mr. Jarvis at Toronto, holding a commission in the regular army, in Canada, and becoming a member of the Bar of Upper Canada, he returned to the United States and ultimately settled in New Orleans or Mobile, dying in 1817, nine years before his father.

Collateral descendants of Dr. Peters are found in the Buell family and in families allied to it by marriage, Mercy Peters, his sister, having married William Buell, U.E.L., one of the founders of Brockville, Ontario.

The name Samuel Peters keeps on being handed down from generation to generation in the Jarvis family, thus keeping alive the memory of this "Suffering Loyalist" ancestor. Jarvis Street, Toronto, which, exclusive of the portion below Queen Street, runs from south to north throughout the whole length of what used to be the Secretary's "park lot," granted to him by the Crown, perpetuates this pioneer official's name. So too do many descendants of his own name, who by their naval and military service in the recent war, have lived up to the family tradition of Loyalty to the Unity of the British Empire.

Letters from William Jarvis, Secretary of Upper Canada, and Mrs. Jarvis, to the Rev. Samuel Peters, D.D.

From Wm. Jarvis to Samuel Peters, dated Montreal, June 19th, 1792.

"It gives me great pleasure to inform you that yesterday I landed all the family, they are all in good health except your daughter, whose fatigue from the excessive bad weather during the voyage has left her very weak and low, but she mends very fast indeed. They are at Mr. Doty's¹ hospitable mansion where I left them this morning to *overtake* Simcoe and the other civilians of Upper Canada before they left the town, which I affected.

We all met and dined at Mr. Gray's² (Davidson's friend). Tomorrow morning at 4 o'clock I leave them to bring my family to this place. Mr. Gray insists on bringing my family to his house to remain until we embark for Upper Canada.

"I expect to leave the greatest part of my baggage to pay freight from London, and £14 is paid for each batteau by each officer of the civil line to Kingston.

"Simcoe blames me for not bringing a screw press to apply the great seal. He says he told me but by Gad he did not. I rejoice very much at your prospect of coming out—he seems very cordial and gracious. Mr. Toosey³ was supplicating a recommendation from the clergy of Lower Canada to secure their recommendation to be conferred but Doty opposed him and refused anything of the kind going forward and he was obliged to go to England without it. I wish you to send me one *screw press* as soon as possible, with the following articles: 3 dozen Bayler's patent shoe blacking at 6s. per doz.; *Burn's Justice, Private Wrongs, Blackstone's Commentaries, a pair of spurs*, strong plated.

"You must pardon my not writing long as I must be up at four in the morning to travel 45 miles to join my family, and on Friday morning we leave Mr. Doty's to come to Montreal. Farewell. Your dear lambs are all well. God knows they have had many narrow

escapes for their lives. Poor Sam has not a hair on his head and all his front teeth are knocked out by the unlucky unexpected falls he met with on the ship. Dear Maria talks of you half the time and expects to meet you the moment she arrives in Canada as she calls it. My sweet Augusta has suffered much but she is far stronger and stouter than when she left England.

"We shall all be much disappointed if you do not come out this fall."

June 21, 1792.—Wm. Jarvis to Samuel Peters. Sorel, L.C.:—

"Wrote you a few lines in great haste on 19th inst. at Montreal. This is the first moment my mind has been sufficiently at ease to attempt a letter since we parted with you at Gravesend.

"During the voyage I was not only very sick, at all times when the wind blew, but I with the assistance of Richard was nurse to a very sick and dangerous family to trust from our sight for a single moment; from the continual reaching and fainting, my dear Hannah and the incapability of my dear lambs to protect themselves. Miss Adlem was sick a great part of the voyage. She did her utmost to assist, but the continual gales rendered it impossible for her to stir about much. Richard has hitherto behaved as a good and faithful servant. Fanny has been from the first and still is a "perfect Devil incarnate," she was far worse than no servant during the voyage, she insisted on being treated as a young lady, and "then she would treat her mistress as such," etc., etc. I will not preface any longer but give you the occurrences that happened on the voyage.

April 13th—Dropped down to the Downs.

14th—At sea, with a fair wind; as we passed Dover wind headed us which obliged us to drop anchor, which in letting go killed one of our goats.

15th—At sea with a good offing. 18th, a gale of wind ahead which obliged us to lash the helm and drove us back to the Scilly lights; the gale suddenly abated or God only knows the fate we were shortly to experience. The wind was very light, sometimes fair, at others foul until the 30th, when we were overtaken by a most dreadful gale at N.E. We could not even brave it, tho' fair, it was so violent that but one small sail could be set. The gale lasted till the 4th of May. The mate, a very worthy man, was taken ill the day the gale began, his berth was in the passage leading from the cabin to the deck. No fire could be kept lighted to warm him or any sustenance, and on the evening of the 4th his eyes closed with the day and his exit announced by his groans ceasing; this was a time to apply the old proverb, "Every man for himself and God for us all."

9th—Another gale of wind which required the helm to be lashed and put away before it.

13th—This was an uncommon day, it was the first day we could hold our plates on the table with one hand and were at liberty to eat with the other. The weather was fair from this till the 18th, which put us in great spirits, but alas before the evening of the 18th we found ourselves near the Grand Banks and surrounded with islands of ice from Hudson Bay and the deck covered with ice and snow. In fact I never suffered with cold so much in my life. The ice was in pieces from the size of our long boat to islands of 5 or 6 leagues in circumference. Before the day closed it blew a most severe gale and at the setting of the sun we found our position to be a perilous one and knew not which way to steer to extricate ourselves, as the islands appeared on every side. All hands were placed on deck and about 20 soldiers to assist the seamen in case she struck, which we momentarily expected and there was little prospect of salvation in case she had struck from the violence of the wind. Therefore I went as quickly as I could to bed, and concealed our danger from the rest of my family.

19th—The wind abated but we still found ourselves with frigid mountains, and the sea running high. The wind gradually abated until the morning of the 22nd when the most violent gale the Atlantic ever experienced arose from the N.W. It drove us to the southward of the ice in quick time, and the ship half the day dipping her yard arms in the sea. We shipped many heavy seas which made her stagger and about five in the evening the ship began to yield to the sea and the waves fell frequently and heavily on her decks. At six the *sky-light on the quarter deck was stove in by the sea* and water fell in the cabin through the skylight; at 8 p.m., we received a still more powerful sea which forced open the gun port opposite the state-room where I had just placed in your daughter's small berth her three children and Miss Adhem to pass a wretched night! The ship was knocked upon her beam ends; I was sitting like a sentinel (which was strictly my case the whole voyage) at your daughter's door, when the first knowledge I had of the catastrophe, I found my head through the panel on the opposite side of the cabin and lying upon half a dozen gents and servants, where we had all been thrown. The ship gradually righted and I hastened to my post and found my dear prisoners nearly drowned with at least a ton of water they had received in their bed and not a dry thread on one of my family or their bed and blankets. I got assistance and placed a dry blanket under and another over them, but they were obliged to pass the night in their wet clothes, but from this moment the storm abated and about 12 midnight, Capt.

Shanks, little Sam any myself threw some wet blankets on the cabin floor, where we finished an awful night.

All this your daughter supported with uncommon fortitude, seemed perfectly sensible of our danger and made me the bold proposal "*That we should all go together and not attempt a boat.*" Her lips trembled and her voice faltered when she spoke it, but her courage was invincible. My feelings can better be conceived than described. Next morning when I went on deck I found the quarter deck had been swept of all the coops, with Juno and her six puppies, the pigs gone and in fact a perfect wreck on deck. We are in some measure compensated for the loss of our stock, by the quantities of fine cod that we took in abundance on the Banks.

Till the 30th the wind was rather calm and sometimes fair. The same day we spoke the "Harmony," which had been out a week longer than ourselves. The day following we made the Island of St. Pauls and the same day approached Cape Ray. The next night we met with a thunder gust which obliged us to put to sea again. About four days after got into the Gulph of St. Lawrence in a thick fog. The pilot by mistake ran into Bonaventure Bay; when the fog cleared away he saw a fishing boat standing toward us, who informed us that they had picked up 12 men, being part of an unfortunate ship's crew, that struck upon one of the islands of ice the same day that we found ourselves in that perilous situation on the Grand Bank. The next day we put to sea again feasting ourselves upon the fish we had taken in Bonaventure Bay; we nearly covered our decks in a couple of hours.

9th—We found ourselves off Beak and were here joined by the "Harmony" again, the country from Beak gradually mends till you reach the Island of Orleans near Quebec, which is beautiful and seems as regularly laid out as a garden in England.

On the 11th we were at anchor off Quebec, the wind being strong and fair. We had time only to hasten ashore and report ourselves and get on board again. Shanks, Littlehales⁴ and myself first waited upon the Lieut.-Gov. who received us most hospitably and wished it had been convenient for us to have dined with him, but he frankly told us that the wind we now had had better be taken advantage of as the season was advancing. From the Governor's we waited on the Prince (Duke of Kent) who received us most graciously and asked us a lot of questions and seemed to know us all as well as if he had been most intimately acquainted with us. I then went to the Secretary's office to receive some instructions from Mr. Pownal⁵ but found he had gone to Montreal. Before I could reach the wharf I was sent for and stopped by so many people that the ship was under weigh

before I could get on board. Major Holland, the Surveyor General, sent for me and received me most affectionately and pressed me to bring my family and stay a few days at his house; he enquired very affectionately after "his old friend Peters," etc. Mr. Purdy sent for me also but I could not accept his invitation from this time till the 18th.

We moved slowly toward Montreal. I landed a league and a half below the town of Sorel and walked up to see Mr. Doty's family whom I found in perfect health and comfortably settled. Mr. and Mrs. Doty insisted upon the family all coming ashore and after dinner provided calashes and fetched them all out to the ship. Their little hearts rejoiced at the approach of land and when they found themselves safe landed they were perfectly mad. Little Maria took hold of my hand and said, "Now Papa I would be glad if you would show me my grandpapa and my uncle, I want to see them very much." Poor little soul, the affection that her countenance betrayed was too much to withstand. Sam ran off into the meadows instantly and had twenty tumbles in the grass which was nearly up to his chin, before we could catch him. Augusta's joy was by no means the least of the family.

We stayed at Mr. Doty's until the 22nd when we embarked on a batteau for Montreal which Mr. Gray had the goodness to send over for us. 24th we arrived at Montreal where we were most cordially received by Mr. John Gray, the particular friend of Mr. Davidson; his generosity and hospitality exceeds anything I have ever met with; his whole house at our disposal and flowing with milk and cream and strawberries for my lambs.

Dear Maria often stuffs herself till her "shoes pinch her under her stays" and Mr. Gray's table for the rest of us is fit for a Prince to partake of. When you arrive I request you will pay your respects to him as soon as possible, for I assure you his friendship deserves far greater acknowledgment than I am capable of giving. They have long had a report that you are consecrated Bishop of Canada. Doty is much your friend and says he continued writing to you 2 years after you dropped his correspondence. He seems much hurt at your neglect. They supplied us with everything to eat and drink on our way in the batteau to Montreal.

28th—We embarked at Lachine for Kingston * * * Col. Simcoe has ordered a regiment to proceed with all despatch to Niagara, himself with the civil establishment are to stop for some time in Kingston; Osgoode informed me he was to open *his first court*. Mrs. Simcoe is to spend the winter in Kingston, which I expect will be the case with my family, from the accounts I have heard from Kingston, I would wish to go no further up the country. Thompson Peters says that

many people will emigrate from Connecticut if you come out to Canada but not otherwise; that they have an idea you will make them all priests and deacons in the wilderness.

There is no peace established between the Americans and the Indians, a treaty seems on foot and our Montreal friend I believe to be the mediator. *Sir John Johnston*^a is selling off all his furniture in this country and going to England in a very few days, in a very *great pet with the Minister*. Mr. Gray has sent up to inform us that our letters must be instantly sealed. Maria says, I "*must tell grandpapa what a good child I am and that he must come and see me*"; and truly she is a good child. * * * My love to Bird and you shall hear from me again soon. * * *

Kingston, July 15th, 1792—My time is so occupied that I have but time to say a few words. Your daughter is writing and will give you all our affairs. I must beg you to send me out this autumn 50 skins of parchment, also 50 weight of beeswax for the great seal; there is no more to be had here or in Lower Canada. I have been very busy since my arrival here writing Proclamations. It has been my ill luck to be obliged to copy so many in manuscript; the one at this moment in hand contains 11 sheets of foolscap. To-morrow they go to Montreal for the press, yet I have had to prepare 8 copies in manuscript. I shall direct my worthy friend John Gray to send you one of each by the first ship. The worst cheese is 15d. per lb. Can you send me some? If you could send us a small cask of tongues and hams it would be very acceptable, but let them be good. If you come to us as no doubt you will in the course of next winter you must send forward your cheese as it was principally your living when we were with you.

We are anxious to hear from you, not one word since we left Gravesend from any of you. My lambs often fetch tears from me when they talk of old times. Maria, in particular, dear rogue, often when she finds we have a moment's leisure, jumps on my knee and throws her arms about my neck and says, "Come papa do let us go home," and then enumerates all her dearest friends. Sam is like a young "Mohawk," very tall and straight and saucy; he compares his head to a hair brush, which since his hair has been cut off is of the same length. Little Augusta, sweet soul, is all life and spirits and rude health and as great a talker as any of them.

In October we look for an addition to our family before which I hope to be comfortably settled in Niagara where we go in about 10 days. No house in Niagara. I understand the Rev. Mr. Addison passed through Kingston for his mission but a week before we arrived, till when he had been at Quebec. For God's sake try and bring

out a servant or two with you, the whole country cannot produce one fit to put in "Hell's Kitchen." All kinds of provisions and vegetables are very dear; beef, mutton, etc., 5d. per pound; chickens 2s. 6d. per couple. All kinds of corn look more luxuriantly here than I ever saw them before. Wheat, the 8th and 9th crop on the same ground without manure, is a man's height and not less than 40 bushels to the acre. * * *

Hannah Jarvis to her Father, dated Kingston, Aug. 25th, 1792:—

I am this moment at a loss why I have not received a word from you since I left London. Not a word from anyone but Mr. Davidson who mentions your having wrote, do not trust your letters to private hands, their inattention to delivery is intolerable. Direct all letters to the care of Mr. John Gray, Montreal, who will send them to us. If you come to Montreal you will find him an obliging friendly young man. Mr. Jarvis wishes you to direct such things as you send to us or to the Governor through us, to his care. He returned from Niagara yesterday at which place he has been obliged to purchase a log hut and half an acre of land at the price of £140 York currency, and bought the logs to enlarge it for his family, which he expects will be finished in about three weeks; we shall then have five rooms and two garrets, including the kitchen. He says there are plenty of frogs and streaked snakes and some rattlesnakes. We leave this place on the 28th or 29th for Niagara where Mr. Jarvis is obliged to be by the 11th of September when the Assembly meets. Mr. White the Attorney-General is chosen Assemblyman from this county. Capt. Russell⁷ has purchased a house at Niagara of two rooms for £60.

Sam was disappointed a day or two since. I told him his uncle was come; he asked "If grandpapa was come too", I answered "No." He came home from school in great haste and when he entered the room he looked at his Uncle Seymour and colored as red as fire and said, "you told me Uncle Bird was come"; but I mentioned Uncle only. Mr. Jarvis cannot write but desires his love, is obliged to get the things aboard ship this day. You shall hear from us again when we arrive at Niagara.

Hannah and Wm. Jarvis, dated Kingston, Aug. 30th, 1792. By Seymour Jarvis who is going to New York I send the July receipts from Mr. Jarvis and self. (Note—This alludes to a certificate from Governor Simcoe stating that William and Hannah Jarvis are alive; so as to enable Dr. Peters to draw a pension or an allowance of £50 which it seems they had assigned to him. Many of these certificates still exist.) We are waiting for a fair wind to sail for Niagara, the Governor was ill on Sunday evening the 26th, at which time the Prince

(the Duke of Kent) left that place. I have just heard that the Line Packet has arrived at Quebec, by Capt. Russell, who received a letter by her. We have not received one line from you since we left the Downs. Many things have come out by the Scipio such as ploughs, shares, cart-hubs, etc., and almost everything by her damaged, the Governor's coach rotten and sold; sold for the benefit of the underwriters. We anxiously await for letters. Miss Adlem wishes much to know her fate.

Undated Letter. I was in hopes before this time to have given you more satisfactory accounts of our new city. We are still a roving tribe of Israelites, or whatever you please to call us. Col. Simcoe has fixed on Niagara as his Headquarters for two years to come. I have been there and was ten days in search of a *hut* to place my poor wife and lambs in without success; at length I was obliged to pay £140 for a log hut with 3 rooms (two of which are very indifferent) with half an acre of ground. I have purchased logs to make an addition to my hut, which will add a decent room to the first purchase. Col. Simcoe is at present very unwell at Niagara and if he has a good shake with the ague I think it will be but justice for his manners in dragging us from this comfortable place to a spot on the globe that appears to me as if it had been deserted in consequence of a plague. Neither age nor youth are exempt from fever and ague in Niagara. How will it go with my poor souls?

Osgoode I expect will refuse wintering at Niagara; also the Attorney-General. Our Assembly are to meet on the 12th of next month, and a motley crew they are. After the Assembly is prorogued, the Col. and his suite are to go to Toronto, a city-hunting. I hope they will be successful for I am sick unto death of roving, it really seems as if we were never to stop again.* * * Lake Ontario is very boisterous navigation. I was very near being lost on the 15th inst going to Niagara, and I really believed I had been preserved on the Atlantic to be buried on this lake.

We are distressed and astounded at not having letters from England at this late period. * * * It is impossible that everything should be right or we should have heard from some of our friends in England. I hope the next news to hear that your business is settled to your wishes. People here only live from hand to mouth as if they were to be gone to-morrow.

We have no printer yet, I am still a slave; we have no table of fees established yet, therefore I can make no charge, only book them to be exacted in future. I am very uneasy for fear you have more on your hands of my affairs than you can well manage with convenience to yourself.

Sept., 1792. The Governor seems more intent on city hunting than the organization of the Province. The Prince left us this morning for Quebec, to the joy of all parties. The town was most liberally illuminated last evening in honour of His Royal Highness. Candles are so scarce a commodity that I did not follow the example of my neighbours. I have been obliged to draw upon John Gray of Montreal for my half year's salary to cover our heads this winter, it is not using you well but what could I do? there is not even a shed to hire. I fear the Loyalists are all lost and would give the world for a few lines from you; hard times by "Heaven"; we will hope for a change for the better. Your daughter has good health and better spirits; my dear babes are in rude health and grown quite out of your knowledge.

When you come to this country make a bonfire of your baggage; and you will do a prudent thing and save money.

Since we wrote last Fanny married to a Sergeant Bausneap of the Queen's Rangers (about one month since). The day before yesterday she provoked him to shoot himself through the heart with a soldier's musket at Niagara.

(A great sorrow befell the Jarvis' in the death of their son Samuel, who was taken suddenly ill on Oct. 10th when out with his father and died on the 19th of October, aged five years, seven months and 26 days. The letters giving an account of this are perhaps too poignant to be printed, but in their deep and overwhelming sorrow the thoughts of the bereaved parents turned to the kind father so far away.)

Niagara, Oct. 25th, 1792, *William Jarvis writes*: "I think I have answered your letter fully respecting my amounts left unpaid in London, for God's sake do manage them and come to us in the Spring. * * * If you have any regard for your children you will come to us early in Spring. I wish not to live in this country without you and life would be insupportable for your daughter without you; we have plenty to live on without the mitre; therefore I conjure you to come and be happy with us.

Oct. 25th and 26th, *the daughter writes*: Uncle Bernslee a welcome guest delivered your thrice welcome letter of May 8th to me on the 13th (Oct.). This is the first information we have had of or from you—for my part I never expected to hear from you again on earth. My thoughts were with you day and night, you seemed to me living, dead, sick, well, in short I saw you every way. I blamed myself for leaving you. * * * For God's sake and your children's sake come from a place of war and tumult and live and be a comfort to your children who cannot find comfort without your presence and consolation. * * * Then follows a long, heart-broken account of the death of their dear

child who was attended by Dr. McCauley and a Dr. Burnes and at whose funeral the Rev. Mr. Stuart of Kingston officiated, "Mr. Addison attending." She continues: "It has been a sickly season out here and a deadly one to children, so much so that there is scarcely a child left in the fort the other side of the river and numbers have died here. Maria is ill but Augusta is well and a lovely babe, come and partake of her pretty prattle, she will amuse you much—all mischief, all good nature. Come then, dear, dear Father, solace your afflicted children by your presence. Poor Bill cannot write you more than on business, his heart is almost broken. * * * Without you come to comfort us it will be out of the power of me, or any person to reconcile him to this country. Pray come, do not let us be refused, we shall be happy on bread and water with your company, without it miserable. * * * Bernslee says you intend to see us in the Spring; the information I feel and trust and hope shall keep up my spirit until you arrive. Do not disappoint me, as you love your children, come to them that they may nurse you and you comfort them with your company and advice. We can live here without the "Mitre," being placed more pleasingly than we were, but only let us live together; leave a place where discord has begun her reign, once surely is sufficient for man to feel the weight of her hand; then let us retire with Harmony into the wilderness and live and love each other.

After some business directions concerning the house they had left in England, she writes: "Fanny has left me and gone to the dogs. Crossed the lake with one of the sergeants of the Rangers, and prevailed on him to marry her; then provoked him to shoot himself before her face. She now lives at a Mr. Hamilton's, a servant, how long it will last I cannot say. I shall take the liberty not to deliver to her or to Richard the prayer-books, as she has left me and he has turned out a drunkard and so very insolent that I think Mr. Jarvis must, in his own defence, part with him, or keep no servant in the house, from Richard's treatment of them, and he has one already, but rum dear rum is his idol. Miss Adlem returns her thanks for you attention in this as well as former things.

I left with you an exact account of all my bills due, that come under my care, with the last weekly bill of each tradesman, and my correction upon them in figures; I mentioned the bladders which I supposed you had forgot; they were for tying down my pickles and jellies for the voyage to prevent the air from spoiling them; they came to the amount demanded, etc. As to the window-glass you took the number of panes cracked and broken on our entering the house, owing to Mr. Hartley's insolence on the same subject.

In answer to your caution about living with economy, I can assure you that we have determined and do practice as much as in our power (frugality). We dress not, see no company and go nowhere. I have not been out of the house since I arrived in this place, but once, that was for a walk of one hundred yards, to call on Mr. Addison; at Kingston drank tea out three times only and had no company except the Governor and lady who came in one evening when we were at tea. Mr. Jarvis was obliged to buy a house (as the Governor would not quit Niagara) and pay £140 for it, to which he has added three rooms of logs, that we shall be able to get into in the course of a fortnight or three weeks. He could not hire but at the expense of £40 per year for three rooms and a cock-loft for which reason he thought it more advisable to do what he has done. The £40 house was in the edge of the wood, two miles from any house and of course from any market and without any conveniences belonging to it, as I mentioned in former letters.

Concerning white oak stairs Mr. Jarvis has not had time to make any enquiries about them but is of opinion that the expense of having them made and taken down the communication will far exceed their value, labour being so immensely dear, a dollar and a half per day is the usual price for a man, or if you have him by the month eight dollars and find them with victuals. A woman servant the lowest is 2½ dollars per month from that to 12 dollars; I have two girls to whom I give 7 dollars a month. They are willing, good-natured girls but not acquainted with doing their work as I have been used to; I am under the necessity of following them constantly, yet I complain not, because they do as well as they know how.

As to your advice to live in harmony with *all* men, I hope we have practiced it tho' with no little mortification in many instances. I realize the friendship of the two S—as no way essential to our future happiness, the malice of the one may be his own downfall in the end.

Mr. Jarvis is so much respected here that he can get anything which others find difficulty in procuring sufficient to support their families; he can borrow when others cannot buy which makes them very angry.

Addison is not far from us and seems out of humour with himself and all the world; he seems to think he is still in London, where tradesmen are reckoned nil, but here they are the first people. I fear he will not find this out until too late for his own comfort.

You are to act as you think best for Mr. Jarvis with the Society. I well remember to have heard Mr. Jarvis say on coming home one day that he had paid Mr. Smith for Governor Simcoe's things and what you mention of Bird's being with him and sent for bill of

parcels, also I remember; as to anything further on that subject I know not.

I could wish you to send me a saddle for a horse of fourteen hands high. The harness you mention to have sent Uncle Bernslee says he is sure it is not sent; when we receive the things I will give the particulars of them.

Bernslee leaves to-morrow for Kingston, from whence he expects to go to Toronto, to settle the Loyalists. He has met with much trouble in getting up the communication about his goods, several parcels being left in Montreal—two of crockery, and his potash kettle. I fear I may forget to inform you that there is a post established once a fortnight through the Geneva country from hence to New York, therefore I request you to write by every opportunity. T. P. left Kingston the same time as we did in great anger that he had not got a place of three hundred a year and as bitter towards you vowing vengeance to take care of himself at your expense. I think him an ungrateful young man and a rebel as strong as his Uncle John; he is not fit for any place in my opinion, still had he had patience he would have had a place—a clerk of the House of Assembly. However I am not sorry he is gone for he was an eternal plague to Mr. Jarvis and his clerks, causing him to have leaves cut out of the book after being wrote upon, prying into everything, private or public. I will never forgive him for his flings at you; had he said anything against me I should not have cared but he touched me as well as Mr. Jarvis on a fine thread when he fell at you. My own blood cannot forget such things.

Bernslee wishes me to inform you that he is fearful he cannot write to you at this time, and that if he does not you must not expect to hear till he is settled at Toronto or some other place, also to let you know that Mr. Clark, Commissioner of Montreal, would not suffer his things to come on unless he paid £45 Halifax cr. for the Batteaux and had he not met with Mr. John Gray, who was so civil to us, he could not have got anything forwarded. Others who had more baggage were suffered to proceed with all theirs free. Mr. Jarvis by mere accident saw the list, and thinking he would want a friend sent a letter to Capt. Lethbridges who knew you and me in London and now commanding officer at Kingston, to assist him as much as possible, without which he says he knows not what he should have done, his things must have lain out of doors. He asks if his things were not marked to go at the King's expense until they arrived at their destined haven.

Mr. Jarvis has appointed John Peters his deputy at Prince Edward which I hope will be something in his pocket. He bears an excellent character in all respects—he is a favorite in the family.

Should you come by way of Montreal fail not I pray you to go to Mr. John Gray and request that he would get some gentleman to accompany you up the communication; if you do not you will be obliged to stop where the Canadians please, which shall be always in the woods, where there is nothing to be had; otherwise you will sleep every night in the best houses the country affords, and be comfortable. * * * John Peters spoke to Mr. Jarvis about the team, but the expense would be great to get it from the Bay of Quinte as you may judge by freight being 50s. per ton from Kingston to this. The table of fees brought by Mr. Jarvis were not from the Treasury but from Mr. Stokes, consequently no authority for this country. A screw press is greatly wanted for the great seal, ought to have come by us. * * *

I know not what you mean by the smoothing glasses "creating repentance," their meaning is nothing more or less than to serve instead of a mangle, when silk stockings and gowns are washed. * * * We needed not your words to convince us of your will toward us in point of assistance; but the greatest you can afford us, is in giving us your company. * * *

We had a letter from Mr. Emerson yesterday wherein he makes mention of the news having arrived by way of New York of your consecration; I pray it may be true. Mr. Jarvis has a fourth of a township called Hope. He has spoken for a township for you and Bird and received for answer he shall have the first that shall be granted on the lake or Toronto, but wishes you could come and fix on the spot yourself. The ship and Bernslee are going.

Adieu, in hopes of a speedy meeting.

Your faithful daughter, etc.

Niagara, October 26, 1792.—*Hannah Jarvis to Birdseye Peters.* I am much pleased at your improvement, continue to do the same, be dutiful to your father, love him, please him, amuse him, keep up his spirits. Play cards and backgammon with him, amuse him, keep up his nurse him with the attention of a dutiful and fond child, you know not his value nor ever will till you lose him, which God spare his life to us. I have been miserable about him ever since we parted, on account of his health and on account of Mr. Jarvis' affairs, we have fretted for fear of delay of bills and that he might meet with trouble on that account. I was distressed for the bite you got, am happy it was no worse.

Indeed there is ample scope for new ideas, but at present I possess none. I am not in spirits for drawing funny pictures or giving descriptions of any thing, my heart is almost broken and Mr. Jarvis frets himself almost to death. * * * Unless my father comes and that soon he will not stay here. Oh how I long to see him and you. * * *

I am grieved to find such disturbance reigns in England; God preserve my dear father and you my dear boy from any evil or from falling into the hands of mobs, come from there as soon as possible and let us not experience a second rebellion.²² Take care of yourself and my dear father. The ship and Uncle Bernslee are off.

Newark, Nov. 18, 1792. Mr. Jarvis to his father-in-law. On the 15th inst. your daughter was put to bed of a fine and promising child, it is a son; both mother and child are unusually well. Mrs. Jarvis has not the least fever and a pretty good appetite, tho' too cautious to take anything except a cup of tea or gruel. Dr. McCauley attends her. * * * She is very comfortably placed in a large room in the new part of my house which with unremitting perseverance I got ready for her reception. * * * She is in the green bed that you used to lay in, and the large Turkey carpet under her; the bed stands in the middle of the room to prevent the possibility if there should be any damp in the walls from leaving any effect; I have been thus particular to relieve your natural anxiety. * * *

Mrs. Simcoe does not keep the plates, she called the day before your daughter went to bed. The trunk of Simcoe's I have received much damaged, etc. The harness you mentioned sending I cannot learn of. * * * Send me some chain traces for 4 horses; harness also for the same number. I have also received my darling boy's * * * The distress of my mind cannot be conceived; in the death of my son I have lost the pride and ambition of my heart. You must come to us in the spring, come by way of New York. A fig for the mitre! You want it not, you have a sufficiency—I intend the infant shall bear up the name of his brother—I have the pleasure to inform you the Governor has perfectly recovered from his late alarming illness, and looks like himself once more, he called yesterday to say I must live with him until your daughter got up again.

The spot for our Capital is yet undetermined on—Toronto I expect will be the place.

The Governor has told me you shall have a township but he wishes you to choose for yourself.

I wish you would bring me out a servant man with you. Richard has turned out a perfect sot, always drunk when he can get rum; and insolent beyond anything I have ever seen; he thinks nothing of kicking

the servant maids; with a number of things equally distressing if not worse.

Your daughter sends her duty and my little lambs both a kiss for Grandpapa and Uncle Birdseye. Augusta is fatter and more rosy than her sister. My love to Bird. Adieu.

Mr. Jarvis, Niagara, Nov. 25, 1792. Your favor of the 5th July we received yesterday. I am particularly happy in informing you that your daughter and child are both uncommonly stout for the time since the increase of my family. The boy is very large and in good health, this is the ninth day of his admission, I have not the same feeling for him that I had for his brother. * * *

All the books sent out by the Society were rotten before they reached the Governor—I saw them yesterday—the whole of which are not worth a penny. The Scipio (the ship on which they came out) had the hatches drove open in a storm and almost all the cargo ruined. * * * For God's sake come to us in the Spring, as early as possible, you must come, or we will be totally miserable, on your account. We want for nothing else that this world affords, we should all be together once more, and I hope never to part. * * *

I have made out commissions to the following gents, who have been appointed by the Governor, and recommended for confirmation to the Treasury. Mr. David William Smith is reg. to act as Surveyor-General; Captain R. England to be naval officer in Upper Canada; Edward Baker Littlehales (Brigade Major) Clerk of the Council. All of whom have been superceded by the Treasury (viz.) Smith by a son of Major Holland, Surveyor-General, Lower Canada; Littlehales by Small who resides at Kingston this winter; England by De Castro, a Spaniard, who arrived here this day. * * *

Mrs. Jarvis, Newark, Jan. 15, 1793. By favor of Mr. Wilcox who is going to Ireland by way of New York, I write this to inform you we are in good health. My dear little girls and boy are well, he grows very fast, begins to take notice.

Still we wish for your company; our spirits cannot recover their gaiety; we are grown so grave that Birdseye would say we were old married folk. I have no wish for any amusement; I have been to two of the Assemblies and am to attend on the 18th at the Governor's Ball, the Queen's birth-night. The first I went to was to endeavor to alleviate Mr. Jarvis' grief and my own, the latter I was obliged to attend politically. * * * we shall have no drawing room until the King's birthday.

Our printer has got his press up and commenced printing but nothing public as yet; a paper^d is expected to be weekly printed and is most likely to begin after the 18th.

The 27th of December the Grand Master* (free Masons) was installed in great form, a procession of all the Fraternity called with music playing, etc. Mr. Addison, Grand Chaplain, a young brother made that morning, read prayers and preached a sermon after which there was a dinner.

There has been a Council of the Six Nations held here for a week past. This morning they met to determine about some lands they wanted, Joseph Brant at their head; but the Governor and they could not agree; the grant was made out, the great seal affixed, but the Indians rejected it; they were not to dispose of any part of the land therein specified, but among themselves; this they do not like. Now they have agreed to have a grand council in the Spring; of *every individual who has a voice*—before the Spring communication is opened with England and the Six Nations, the result of which will be sent to the King for his approbation, or his disapprobation.

Captain Brant dined with us on 13th, the first time I ever spoke to him. I saw him at the Assembly; the Thursday before, for the first time.

Our Winter is not yet begun, we have had no snow to lay more than a day or two. We have been out in the sledge two days running, once or twice we ventured out and returned on dry or rather on muddy ground. We went on the 13th to the lodge or Assembly on a slay where no snow had been for a week and the clay is so soft a state as to receive a wheel of a chaise half way to the axle tree. The weather is so very mild at this time that we might be without a fire was it not for fear of taking cold. I have not had any chilblains. This winter, I have not clothed any other way than I have been in London, What little I have seen of the place, was it well cleared, would make some of the most beautiful spots in the world. The river Niagara for seven miles which I have seen, affords a delightful prospect. A place called four mile creek, on the side of the lake was it in England would be a place worthy the king's notice; it meanders in a manner superior to any stream I ever saw; there is a grist mill upon it and the family that it belongs to are Dutch. We have received more attention than could be expected from them. As soon as Mrs. Servos understood that I was an American (i.e., Loyalist) she sent me lard and sausages, pumpkins, Indian meal, squashes, potatoes, carrots, etc., etc. I have been to see them and they seem highly pleased and say we shall come to see you because you are not particular. I had them here to dinner on the 27th. Captain McKay lives in their house and seems much pleased with his situation. You cannot think how much it seems to please them when we "condescend" as they say to go and

* William Jarvis.

see them. I soon found that their eyes were fixed on me as an American to know whether I was proud or not. Mrs. McCauley and I have gained the character of being the plainest dressed women in Newark. Mr. Jarvis begs his duty to you, will send a remittance of one hundred and fifty pounds, his half year's salary; is much concerned that he cannot send you more, fearing that you may think him neglectful of you.

He has done business to the amount of £100 but the want of a regular established table of fees, has received none; they stand charged on his books until such table be forthcoming. He has been at a good deal of expense with his house. *He does not draw rations* as we expected for himself and family, consequently is obliged to furnish everything for his family. He has purchased two ponies, one a Frenchman and the other a Spaniard, who draw water, wood, hay and straw, and has got a harness very smart, part of ropes, the rest of leather; (also) a cow and an old sow with seven pigs, the latter sell here for a dollar each. He has a thousand things to say to you but cannot write. * * * We long much to hear from you and know if your business is concluded upon. I have not heard from you since the 1st of August, better than five months, every moment seems an age. Anxiety is my constant companion. Mr. Jarvis says he will take up the money you laid out for Mrs. Simcoe here if agreeable to you and send you bills, by which means he will be enabled to pay those that he deals with here.

I hope you have not experienced any difficulty by us not sending sooner to you. I hope the money sent by Marson was not too late, that it was in time not to drive you to any fresh difficulties. Mrs. Simcoe has returned so I stand indebted for it. The seat of Government is still unfixed, the Governor has been up to the head of the lake—likes the country much, is going very soon to Detroit and I fear expects Mr. Jarvis to go with him having told him some time since, that he must go with him; but Bill understood not till Spring and now he finds his mistake.

My dear Maria will soon commence to work, then I must petition you for thimbles of the white bath metal and a pound or two of pins, etc., etc.

How is Miss Savage, my love to her. Tell her there is more profession of dress in an Assembly than I ever saw in London. We Londoners think they must suffer greatly under the load of finery that stands piled upon them, for it literally stands; feathers, not an inch of them lost in fixing them in or on their caps. * * * The flowers grow very well, are placed in the best room in punch glasses on one of our card tables. * * *

My dear Father let me see you soon. I think there is not any that would tempt me to cross the Atlantic again, but the happiness of seeing you and two or three more. Come to us, let me have the satisfaction of nursing you, perhaps you now stand in need of a fond daughter's assistance, excuse me, I cannot quit the subject. I dare not think. Come sweet hope and take thy place between me and grief and keep off despair. Methinks I hear you say I will come to you be of good cheer my children; with this comfortable thought I will bid you good-night. May the blessing of Heaven attend you. Adieu.

Herewith you will receive the first of exchange drawn by Mr. Jarvis in your favor, with the Governor's certificate also for him and me for pension. The enclosed letter Mr. Jarvis begs you to seal and deliver yourself or Bird. Mr. Jarvis desires me to say that he finds everything very easy in his office. Mr. Osgoode is very kind in sending his assistants. I have enclosed you two locks of hair, the darkest is what I last cut; if you would let it be put in the back of your minia- ture it would be adding to my obligations, in what device you may think proper or in any other way. Adieu. Love and duty attend you all!

Wm. Jarvis, Jan. 22, 1793. Mr. Joshua Pell has just called on his way to New York and has given me a moment to write, and enclose a second exchange on Mr. Goddard the Provincial Agent, the first was forwarded a few days since by Mr. Wilcox for £150 sterling. We are all well, the little ones daily talking of you and their uncle. We shall expect you in the Spring, fail not I pray you, I have scarce any other wish in the world. I have nothing more to lose nor have strength or spirit left scarcely to support nature. My best respects attend all my old friends, farewell.

Wm. Jarvis, Niagara. I am very sorry I am not able at present to give you a longer letter. I am compelled even to write this by your brother Bernslee. * * * (Letter deals with a dispute over transportation in which proceeding had been threatened against Mr. Jarvis.) "I believe I must be under the necessity of giving him a bill for one of the batteaux on you." The sickness and distress of my family have driven me to a very great and unexpected expense. First my blessed little Sammy was seized with a fever * * * what with distress of mind and watching him day and night, I was seized with the fever and ague. My boy was in the arms of death, I was advised by McCauley and called in all the medical people in consultation and in consultation they saved him. Maria was then seized with the same fever, just as the darling boy was able to be carried about the room. Maria's symptoms grew very alarming * * * (but) God heard my prayer and saved

my child who was scarcely able to walk across the room when I was put to bed of the same fever which lasted me three weeks. * * * It is but three days since I could walk without the assistance of your daughter. I have been once on horseback and my appetite has returned ten-fold keener than ever, but my legs are like walking sticks, and the rest in proportion; thus my dear and best friend you see how I am distressed in mind, body and estate. * * *

As to politics I'll write none, you know my sentiments, why would you break our hearts to take your leave of us. I feel for your treatment poignantly; yet can you tear yourself from the most affectionate of daughters in the world, the best wife and the best mother that the sun ever shone upon. How can you resist flying to dear Maria, who never lays her head on her pillow without mentioning her dear Grand-papa. And little Pickel joins in the conversation though she remembers little of what she lost in him, and little Sonny (for so he is called) is a lovely boy to be sure. Maria I fear was not born to live among mortals, etc. I must lay down my pen for I am ready to drop from my chair, this is my first effort.

(The Right Rev. Joseph Mountain was consecrated July 7th, 1793, as First Bishop of Quebec and the next two letters deal with a journey to New England undertaken by Mr. Jarvis with the double purpose of trying to settle some of Dr. Peter's financial affairs and to secure support for his election to the proposed Bishopric of Vermont.)

Nov. 22nd. I again resume my pen. * * * I correspond with the Society of the Province of Vermont. Lewis Allen¹⁰ is as d—d blackleg as ever lived. I will (if Birdseye arrives, for we have written to him to spend the Winter with us) take a trip and see if I can hunt him up (L. Allen) and do my endeavor to accomplish the business that he undertook. I'll suffer martyrdom before the key keeper shall be thus buffeted; it is my intention to spend five hundred guineas provided the business shall be done effectually, it will take me the most of the winter. I shall leave my family well provided for, I have a yoke of fattened oxen to come down, 12 small shoats to put into a barrel occasionally which I expect will weigh from 40 to 60 lbs., about 60 head of dung-hill fowl, 16 fine turkeys, and a doz. ducks, 2 breeding sows, a mulch cow which had a calf in August, which of course will be able to afford her mistress a good supply of milk through the winter. In the root house I have 400 good head of cabbage, and about 60 bushels of potatoes and a sufficiency of excellent turnips.

My cellar is stored with 3 barrels of wine, 2 of cider, 2 of apples (for my darling), and a good stock of butter. My cock-loft contains some of the finest maple sugar I ever beheld, 10,000 lbs. was made in an Indian village near Michellemackinac. We have 150 lb. of it. It

was my intention to send you a small keg of it, but I was taken ill. Also plenty of good flour, cheese, coffee, loaf sugar, etc. In my stable I shall have the ponies and a good slay; the snuggest and warmest cottage in the province. Thus you see I shall have the best of companions abundantly supplied with every comfort in the wilderness, where few have an idea only of lonely existing. In fact I am early provided with every requisite for a long and severe winter which is close on our heels. Your daughter never had so good health or spirits; even, in our deepest calamity she was cheerful, yet the most dreadful agony had possession of her heart; such a share of fortitude I believe never woman possessed before. I am really so tired that I can hardly sit in my chair, every bone in me aches but I will try to write on for a few minutes longer when the bearer of this to New York will call.

The Governor is to winter in Toronto (now York) in his canvas house and two log huts. The regiment have not above two or three huts finished and they require 30 to accommodate them.

The late arrival of the Cork Fleet has rendered the want of provisions for the army very alarming. There is now arrived at Kingston 4000 barrels of pork which are for, and ought to have been at this post and Detroit before this time. God knows the event; however I have provided against all suffering of the kind. I have made out but three grants since my being in office (except two Indian grants). This country was never known to be so sickly as it has been this season. I am very happy that you sent not the articles that Mrs. Jarvis and I wrote for; send us nothing but shoes for Mrs. Jarvis and my babe. I have this day paid a dollar for a pair of inferior red morocco for my daughter Augusta, she was quite bare-footed. * * * My old coats that I threw off in London serve me to make a decent appearance and will for a year or two to come I expect.

I am in great hopes I shall succeed in this grim country. * * * Mr. Doty has accepted the living at Brooklyn (sic) opposite New York. This is a past fact, I have it in a letter from Schafflein dated Sept. 29th, who says Doty and his wife have just returned from New York and D— affirmed it to Schafflein. The bearer of this has just called and I must conclude. God bless you. Farewell.

From Wm. Jarvis, March 28th, 1794. *Niagara.* It was with great pleasure that I heard of you being elected Bishop of Vermont which we hope will speedily be the cause of a happy meeting with you at our little cottage in Upper Canada. Your residence in Vermont will not be required, I trust, more than six months in the year. The other six months I hope you will devote to your children's comfort. On the

20th December last I left this place to visit my friends in New England and on the 8th of March I returned after leaving my friends all well. During my absence I wrote you several letters on particular business all of which I trust you have safely received.

This is the last letter I shall write till I hear whether you have accepted your election or not. I pray you may accept it as it will give you an opportunity of visiting your children in this country, as well as to settle your affairs which are in a very deranged state and will remain so till you arrive. I hope you will land in New York and proceed to Stamford with my brother Samuel who will be very happy to come and fetch you in his carriage.

If the Americans dare fight us, I think we are sure of a war with them. We have lately received orders here to supply the Indians with every kind of warlike stores.

The warriors it seems by Lord Dorchester's speech to the Indians are to determine the line* between the States and us. Great preparations are making with us in case of a commencement of hostilities.

I am told by the Governor that in case of a rupture the civil establishment are all to go immediately down to New Johnston,¹¹ if so we shall be within a day or two's ride of Montreal.

During my absence to the States I went into Vermont to look up that blackleg Levy Allen to try to secure the £150 he owes me, also the £100 you sent him, but found the bird flown and all his property conveyed to others. I saw Governor Chittenden and many others who enquired after you.

Official business in this Province goes on but very slowly, only 52 deeds have been made out. Birdseye is with us, he writes you a long letter by this conveyance. I am quite at a loss whether to send him to England or not before you arrive in the country.

*Note.—The passage in Lord Dorchester's Reply to the Indians of the seven villages of Lower Canada to which this refers is as follows: "From the manner in which the people of the States push on, and act, and talk on this side, and from what I learn of their conduct towards the sea, I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if so, a line must then be drawn by the warriors." This was written at Quebec on Feb. 10, 1794, and through the medium of a spy was printed in full in the New York Daily Gazette of March 25, and in the Gazette of the United States (Philadelphia), March 26. This speech or letter (Correspondence of J. G. Simcoe, II, 149-150), although expressing no more than what any person might say under similar circumstances, produced a commotion, but in the long run probably did good, for on April 6 President Washington forwarded the name of John Jay to the U.S. Senate for his appointment as Envoy Extraordinary to the British Court to settle matters in dispute between the two countries, and what was known as the Jay Treaty was the result.

Miss A is to be married in a few days to a young Scotchman, a good match for her, it will be a great relief to us. She has grown such an unmerciful fine lady that she does not spend a day in the week at home, and she really needs an interpreter, she has grown so affected.

We are much disturbed at not having a letter from you since Birdseye's arrival, the letter must have miscarried or something happened to you.

The Governor and Indians have gone to Detroit again across the country by way of River de France. They set out about a week since.

Your little grand children all send love and kisses to Grand-papa. Simcon Baxter says he wishes to write to you another long letter, but dare not as politics stand, he is an old Tory.

This I trust will meet you on this side of the Atlantic, where your many friends have ever wished you to be. Altho' it has not been the pleasure of the British Administration to provide for you in Canada,¹² yet I trust the affection you have to your children and my Master, the best of Sovereigns, you will exert your utmost to prevent any misunderstanding between the State of Vermont and Canada. Your influence will be great no doubt with the Governor and Council in this affair, it is needless for me to say more on this subject.

Your dated 3rd April reached us on the 16th, it is in fact the first we have received since Birdseye came to America, the pleasure it gave us is more easily imagined than described. Now my dear Sir we have one boon to ask, you must not refuse it (viz.) to spend the winter at Newark with us, it is very easy after you have made the necessary arrangements with your churches in Vermont to cross over into Montreal and then come up the communication to Kingston and then cross the lake on one of our ships, that are going back and forward every wind. If you are in Montreal by the 25th of October you will have time to be with us about the 14th of November, ships navigated Lake Ontario till nearly the middle of December last year. You must count 8 or 9 days from Montreal to Kingston and about 2 or 3 days shipboard from Kingston to Niagara; you must also make some allowance to be wind-bound at Kingston; or should you prefer crossing the country you will not find it an unpleasant tour early in the autumn, it is the way I would recommend a single man to visit the country, you can make your journey easy and very comfortable, you need not sleep one night out provided you will be content to sleep in the

village which is the half-way stage between river and this place. Don't attempt to come this route in the winter, if you do you will repent it. Birdseye can furnish you with a list of the stages and their distance from each other. My family have been

very sickly this summer, myself and Mrs. Jarvis and the little boy have been much troubled with the fever and ague, and a slow fever which she has now upon her. Augusta's spirits have never failed tho' her appetite has for the most part of the summer, she has little left but skin and bone as well as her mother. You must expect to see a most lovely boy, very large for his age, auburn hair, very fair and blue eyes, and an uncommon share of vitality, in fact he is all we could wish him to be at his tender age.

The Bishop of Quebec has made his visitation to this place, his stay was very short, he preached but once and had but one confirmation, in fact he took his departure before the people of the country knew of his being here. His Lordship notified the Governor that he should be with him on the 25th of the month, instead of which he arrived on the 10th and took his departure on the 15th; a vast number were disappointed of their confirmation by his premature arrival and unexpected departure.

He is a man of most winning deportment, extremely affable and a most charming preacher. An old man observed that his visitation was more in the style of a thief in the night than that of a bishop, for he left the Province 10 days before the time that he had named he should arrive. I would rather not touch upon politics but I am sure you would not be pleased should I totally neglect mentioning anything concerning the western country.

Hitherto the Indians are faithful allies, have kept Wayne pretty closely besieged; however he has very lately by some unexpected manoeuvre made some advance, which has been rather alarming to us here which has caused part of our army to move towards the country and have no doubt but there will be a good account given of Wayne and his army before this day fortnight; few I trust will go to bed after that with their night-caps on.

The Indians seem as invulnerable and as enthusiastic as the "Sans Culottes." I would not be in Wayne's shoes for 30 days from this day, to be King of England for life after.

We have a well-appointed militia in this Province, almost to a man have been soldiers during the last war either in British or Provincial Regiments. I look upon them better even than British troops for the service they will be wanted.

Should you come to us by Montreal. I would recommend you to John Gray who will give you every information and furnish you with every other requisite to make your ascent into the second story of the earth agreeable. You will meet with many of my particular friends and your old acquaintances on the communication between Montreal and Kingston. At Kingston you will find the Rev. Mr. Stuart, the

Bishop's Commissary, the Hon. Richard Cartwright, Christopher Robinson who married the daughter of the Rev. John Sayer of Fairfield, etc., who will take you by the hand.

Aug. 22nd. Gov. Simcoe puts his hand on Wayne in person in a very few days. Adieu and shall write you soon again.

Wm. Jarvis, from Niagara, Sept. 3rd, 1794. I have just a few moments' time to write you a few lines to say we are all better in health than when I wrote last; you daughter is the only one of the family that has not cause to complain for want of health.

War has within these few days appeared more doubtful, yet every preparation is making with us for the reception of our neighbors. A part of the militia are now at this place embodied, and a fine body of men they are, almost to a man soldiers that served in the last war. By a late "Ordinance" the militia of this Province are now on the same footing and have the same rank with respect to marching regiments as the militia of England.

We have Lieutenants and deputy-Lieutenants of Counties the same as in England. I am one of the deputy-Lieutenants and appointed to command the militia of the County of York, with the rank of full Colonel. Consequently I command all Lieut.-Colonels of the line within my county or province in case of hostilities.

Mr. Wayne has handled the Indians pretty roughly a few weeks since,* but the Indians recovered themselves and returned again to the battle, the last account we had Wayne was retreating and the Indians pursuing hard on his rear.

In this action one of my deputies was slain in whom I have met with a great loss. His name was Charles Smith, a young man of most accomplished abilities, and an adopted chief among the Shawnees; he received a shot through his knees, was then quartered alive, tho'

*Note: The Battle of the Fallen Timber, August 20, 1794, between Gen. Wayne's forces and the Western Indians, was within sight of the new fort built by the British and only finished at this time. This fort was said to be the best built fort of its time in the west. Its earth-works still exist at the village of Maumee, Ohio, a few miles southwest of the city of Toledo. (Correspondence of J. G. Simcoe, II, 278 note). An illustration of the ramparts as they appeared in 1910 may be seen in "Diary of Mrs. Simcoe" (p. 218) from the J. Ross Robertson Collection. Major Campbell, who was in command of the Miamis Fort at this time, learned from a deserter from the U.S. army, that "It was supposed to be Gen. Wayne's intention to attack this fort and that he was prevented by finding it was defended by heavy cannon." (Correspondence of J. G. Simcoe, II, 419). At any rate, within three days after the Battle of the Fallen Timber, and after an exchange of letters—brusque enough on the part of Wayne—with Major Campbell, who remained cool and prepared, Wayne retreated with his army and made no further advance toward Lake Erie.

shocking to relate nevertheless true. One of Wayne's officers was shortly afterwards taken who the Indians with their scalping knives cut into pound pieces. The Indians lost about 40 warriors, 10 of whom were chiefs.

Joseph Brant has gone from the Grand River with 300 young warriors to join the "Western brothers" from whence we may conclude a very serious event is not far distant. I think friend¹³ Anthony is in the centre of a d—d hobble, he had behaved in a most insolent manner to our posts, as well as barbarous to prisoners, which would chill the blood in one's veins to relate.

I wrote you some time since to request you would spend the winter with us, in which I hope you will readily acquiesce; should your diocese be loth to part with you, you must frame an excuse for that purpose; come you must via Montreal as your best route. Call on John Gray who will receive you and furnish you with every requisite.

Adieu. The little flock all send kisses.

W. Jarvis, dated Dec. 10th, 1794. We have written you so lately that I have little left to say. We hope you have everything settled in respect to your ecclesiastical calling at any rate. I earnestly entreat you not to wait in London upon any demur (should there be any in Vermont.)

With respect to the Provincial seal, Gov. Chittenden is a politician and entirely kept in office by the Church of Vermont, he will be entirely in your power when you arrive there. The table of fees is at length settled in the land granting business; in the Province they have so wrapt up the matter that the Attorney-General is to make out the deeds; strange, but must, tho' ashamed to tell, my fees stand thus at which I am not dissatisfied. I intend to apply for leave to go to Quebec in June or July next if the Governor does not insist on my going to the River de France with him in the Spring as there is to be a Grand Council of all the chiefs and warriors of all the western tribes even down to West Florida. He has notified me or rather invited me to attend him should I not go to Le Manche.

I shall hope to be blessed with a meeting and to accompany you to this place. As soon as you arrive write me by way of Montreal under cover to John Gray, and I will also notify him by the same conveyance. You will be much pleased with our situation and the country in general. What a consolation it would be to have the great ones come to their reason, and you sent to us, a boon too great for us. Heaven has no such blessing in store for us; yet sometimes I have dared to hope it.

Your daughter and the little ones are well. Poor Maria often talks of you and so does little Augusta, but it is merely aping the elder sister. The little darling innocent that bears your name is becoming a great prattler, a prodigious stout child, full as large as Augusta, we have him in Indian dress and fur cap, or chapeau, Indian leggings and moccasins, and a fine fellow he is.

The bearer is waiting for this letter and I have only to present you with all our loves. Most affectionately, etc., etc.

Mr. Jarvis. Niagara, Jan. 14th, 1795. In April last year your last letter to us was dated that has come to hand. Wherefore is your silence? I was in sure hope that the lawn sleeves would have reached Vermont ere this. A little patience, the Spring will come, says the philosopher.

We have at length come to business, the ensuing Summer will be a harvest for me beyond all doubt. The war, the press, that you were so good as to send me was a letter press instead of a press for affixing the great seal, it is much too weak a purchase for the seal of Upper Canada; Government has paid me for it. I have broken it; I must therefore request your further attention and send me a proper one, cost what it will and do let it come by the first Spring vessel, there should be a potent (lever) to it, I never saw only heard of them. Governor Simcoe told me when I was in England that as Secretary of the Province of Upper Canada I was allowed either £20 or £25 per annum for stationery. As the matter has not been fully confirmed (from Mr. Charles Goddard, Agent for Upper Canada, not answering my letters to him on the subject), of course I never have to this hour received any stationery, or allowance in lieu thereof since my being in office. I wish therefore that you would wait on Mr. Goddard as my agent and arrange this matter; I expect to be allowed the same as Secretary and the same as Registrar, as is allowed Mr. Pownall of Lower Canada.

This goes by the Hon. Robert Hamilton, who goes to Scotland with his three sons for their education; by the same conveyance I send you two portraits of my beloved Nek-Keek. Nek-Keek is by adoption a Mississauga. The largest of the two is thought the best likeness. What you will readily trace is his resemblance to the lamb that fell a sacrifice to this inhospitable climate, and I wish one of them might be sent in a small cheap frame to Mrs. Monkhouse. He is an astonishingly large boy and otherwise a fine boy. I wish you could get Earl to make a copy of the largest and send it to Vickery from me. Earl would do it in an hour or two.

Our good Governor spends his winter in the lower part of the Province, from Kingston to Point au Rodil. The rest of the Govern-

ment are of course separated from him at least six months of the year. Israelites indeed, or Arabs, either is applicable, their Government being as well as ours.

I am going to build a house in the Spring in this town, my present log hut being quite too small for the purpose of house and office too; my present mansion will then be converted into an office solely.

Should Mr. Hamilton arrive in London before you leave, pray be attentive to him, he is the son of our most intimate friend. You have never yet hinted to me who you mean to leave our agent. How is Mr. Eyer? Present our (compliments) to him and his wife. Your daughter is well and writes you by this conveyance. The little girls never pass a day without talking of the Grandfather, the little boy joins in and pronounces Grandpapa as well as either. I long to throw him in your arms.

From Wm. Jarvis. Niagara, July 14th, 1795. What can have happened to you or what has become of you that your silence should have continued since April, 1794; is it possible you can forget your own flesh and blood? No! Nor could they forget you, your little girls are daily talking of Grandpapa and the little boy joins in the conversation as familiarly as if he had been always acquainted with Grandpapa; he is a remarkably fine boy of his age and begins to spell in his ab; the little girls are quite grown out of your knowledge.

Your daughter frets much on account of your absence, and has her health very sparingly, etc.

His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor is much better in point of health than he has been. Mrs. Simcoe is far from well, she looks like a walking skeleton, in fact few have their health in this place. I understand that all the public offices are to be ordered over to York (alias Toronto) this Autumn, if so the Lord have mercy on those who have families to cover from the unfailing frost. My offices may go and so may I, but my family are housed and comfortable, and their removal is optional with me.

What a pity there is not among us a chaplain or two of the ancient Israelites, and Moses with his rod and some other good fellow that could provide quails and manna, then we need not fear of sojourning in the wilderness, but in the present instance, the Irish pork barrels do not smile upon us, unless we savor of the military, thus ended the Book of Chronicles.

I have this day (from convenience, not from necessity) drawn on you for fifty pounds in favor of Albert Ryckman, merchant, New York, which I beg you will duly honor. You have now enclosed certificate for the January, April and July quarters from your daughter and

myself. I shall forward the duplicates by another conveyance, then use No. 1.

I wrote you long since for some stationery, another screw press (the one I have being broken) and a few clothes which I hope you have forwarded before this.

God forbid you should banish the idea of coming out to Vermont. I think it will have a good ending. Have you ever heard anything of that worthless fellow Levi Allen.

Hannah Jarvis, dated July 14th, 1795. I heard a few days since of your being alive in March, 1795, the person saw you in London; the news gave me much pleasure and comfort, not having heard from you since the 6th of April, 1794. * * * It is so long since I have heard that I am almost afraid to hear; I frankly confess my spirits never failed me so much as they do now.

I have forwarded the certificates for '94 enclosed to Bird long since, with discretion to send them forward or return them as he should hear from you. I hope you will have received my letter mentioning some articles I wanted from England before you left that place and that you have been kind enough to purchase them.

Wm. Jarvis. August 12th, 1795. Speaks of the birth of another son, Wm. Munson Jarvis.

Wm. Jarvis. Nov. 10th, 1795. Your favor of July 7th and August 1st were handed to me yesterday by the arrival of the Hon. Robert Hamilton who gave us a pleasing account of his dining with you and friends. I note your appointment of Mr. Isaac Scott as agent and about 5 or 6 of our letters have gone to France instead of going to you, but the enclosed packet I hope in God will have better luck, or I shall be but badly off. I hope Birdseye's love will not induce him to hate his book. I know not what gave him offence in Upper Canada, he complained not while he was here, but was restless and wishing to get back to my brother's in Stamford.

The letter press you sent me was not what I wanted, it being too slight for my purpose of course has failed and I am in much distress for want of a better one. Our Province seal is about the size of a bottle stand, or 4½ inches in diameter and half as thick. You cannot make the seal either thinner or thicker as the seal must be filled before it will receive the impression, the Lord Mayor's seal is made of wafers and our seal takes half a pound of beeswax.

I am by no means pleased with our friends in New York, i.e., for keeping the portrait of our sweet boy, truly the finest-looking. He surpasses his sisters.

What is the difference between being consecrated by the Devil, or tempted by Beelzebub and their host? Decamp is my advice, hazard and leave Satan to cure the souls of sinners. *I cannot think they will meddle with your allowance until you are absolutely consecrated, surely they will not refuse you leave of absence*; and when you are better off say like an honest fellow, "take your pelf and be dam—d." I shall be glad to see Graham now. Burlington Beach is a beautiful place, I would wish your parish there. Hamilton says the Bishops are d—d ill-natured with respect to your business and that he would come to America without loss of time.

Your daughter has told you what I offered Birdseye. I could not offer him more as things go; I expect to press the seal to 50 grants per week, during the course of the Winter. I have lately drawn on you for £50 sterling in favor of Albert Ryckman. I only lament that it is too late to stop the bill as I fear it will be inconvenient for you to help him (Birdseye) to some money, till I am better able. God forgive me if I distress you, the boy would have been of service to me and himself, etc., etc.

4 o'clock. Your daughter and myself have just returned from dinner into the office where we left the little flock playing tricks with their chestnuts. Little John (for so he is called) has at this moment forced himself into the office under fair promise of good behavior. Dear fellow, his head is like Absaloms and I think he would be liable to the same accident if he should attempt his flight through a thicket from the amazing quantity of hair he has which almost buries his whole person.

The Governor sails to-morrow morning for York, where he spends the Winter, his health is much impaired and his eyes and skin are as yellow as saffron, and (he is) peevish beyond description.

I wrote you a few lines from Lachine at the bottom of your daughter's letter, that I met them on my way from Montreal. I left this place on the 17th April last with the intention of going to Quebec but was taken very ill at Montreal, where I was confined three weeks, which prevented my proceeding on my journey. It was my intention to have seen Mr. Pownall, Secretary of Lower Canada, but was disappointed by so sudden an indisposition, as well as a violent (portion of letter lost).

With respect to the libel I was sent for, suffice to say that I was absolutely prosecuted in March last for the supposed author of a libel as it was called (tho' a good part of it true no doubt, and the rest most infamously dirty and blackguard). At the time I was prosecuted I was not in town but on a commission of laying out a new road leading

from the town into the country; this prosecution had been two days standing before I knew it and you may easily judge my feelings upon so infamous an accusation. My first object was to challenge the whole of the party, but my letters were evidently suppressed, having been written under the idea that I was under the prosecution, and exactly what they wanted for they would then have it in their power not to treat me like a gentleman. I took advice and waited until the prosecution was over which they discontinued by sending my lawyer (that I had just said to him, "You will make the necessary returns but have not a word to say in court") [a message] that they had discontinued the suit. Now was my time. I dashed at the whole phalanx. Young Ticknell (who is very lately dead) had the courage to fight me like a man. The high-Sheriff by name Alex. McDonald¹⁴ and a half-pay lieutenant came forward and read my letter in public and apologized sentence by sentence, which were my conditions of pardon. John Small, the Clerk of the Council, fled to the Receiver-General, who was our Chief Magistrate and one of the puisne judges at the time, for protection (with others). Such a scene of confusion as Newark was in, an instance never before seen in so small a town.

The old Receiver-General came walking through the mud to solicit peace, he kept me nearly an hour of a cold Sunday morning in the office and at length I told him his arguments did not weigh the balance of a feather with me.

The next day came Judge Powell to me praying for peace but to no effect. The consequence was that they arrested me to make me give sureties to keep the peace. This they could not effect because I was obstinate, at the same time submitted to their wrong but it was not convenient for me to enter into any Recognizance that I had been insulted and expected satisfaction. The Sheriff was ashamed to commit me and at length was obliged to *sneak off and leave me to myself* to my immortal credit and their shame. (Remainder of letter missing).

Hannah Jarvis, Niagara, Nov. 10th, 1795. Yours bearing date 21st of May and 4th June, 1795, were received on the 4th October following and answered 4th, 5th and 6th of same month. Letter bearing date 7th July and 1st August delivered yesterday by Mr. Hamilton, who arrived on the 6th late in the afternoon in good spirits and health. I cannot suppose he was shy of you, I rather think it to be his disposition, he never was intimate with us, until a little while before he went to England, he is quite the gentleman in his own house as well as abroad, but I believe rather shy until fully acquainted with characters.

Mrs. Jarvis—undated. The Secretary wrote to Bird to come to Upper Canada; that he would give him £50 Yk. Cy. per year, board,

washing and lodging, to which if he had complied he meant to have added the fee belonging to a Justice of the Peace which the Secretary is and at present takes none; and that of licensed attorney would in all probability been annexed. The £50 would have given him clothes and so much saved in the family without his appearing to be a clerk; the second would have afforded him pocket money, the third ushered him into the world would have given him confidence as well as profit, and it was supposed eased you of some considerable expense at this time; but he politely refused the offer alleging that the premium is too small, the extra expense occasioned by a long journey and the loss of his time which is very precious in his law studies (you will please to observe that no mention was made to him of the last two appendages), and the hourly expectation of his Father's (arrival) must certainly detain him in New York.

We hope you will accept the offer of the convention and by all means take the steps that Aaron did in days of yore and be President of the new University. Come to the world of Simcoe your friend, he conjures you not to fail; delays have already been too long. Col. Graham has not yet made his appearance. He must use expedition to be with you on Christmas. On the 12th of December if we have health we mean to have a few friends to drink your health and success—"Why build?" Because your town lot in the best situation in the place was given, the condition to have a house on each within twelve months; one was to be built to serve all, in the middle; it was and I believe is still very doubtful where the city will be * * * * * the mansion now occupied is small for its inhabitants, the intended one must be something large, and for sale in case of removal. The dimensions 40 x 24 with two wings 36 x 12 which would admit us to have a bedroom for the children and ourselves, the kitchen and office, two sitting-rooms, and a room for a friend occasionally. It never was meant to be finished only as much as necessity required until the seat of Government should be known. The frames, windows, doors, etc., are ready to go up, and have been all summer, but the rumours of York has delayed its use, as in that case it would have been ready to transport to Young (sic.) Street, York, and made (of) rapid use, while others not having their family's interest at heart equal to their pocket would have composed themselves under a house of cloth or clay. I feel very uneasy at this time about Bird, the yellow fever rages in New York, that the greater part that can leave the city fly to the country for protection. All Mr. Jarvis' friends have gone. 4th Sept. I received a letter from him, he expresses great surprise at not having any account from you, it being nearly a twelve-month since he received a line, he appears in all his letters to be very anxious about

you and your arrival in this country. I am extremely anxious for your arrival, No letters having arrived from you in New York is I imagine the reason of your not receiving the young Nek-Keek—(portrait in Indian dress of their child) and letters from Bird.

Enclosed you will receive a certificate from my brother, quarter '95, the rest have all been sent as regularly as could be forwarded according to order.

The children are well and always asking when Grandpapa will come. Compliments to all enquiring friends. Adieu.

From William and Hannah Jarvis, March 5th, 1796. Your favor of 26th and 27th September last has this moment reached us, and I have prevailed upon a person just setting off for Albany to stop till I can write two or three lines to you. I shall have an opportunity of writing more fully in a few days. We are all well, your daughter never had better health; the two little girls and their two little brothers look like as many full-blown roses. Little William Munson is certainly the finest boy ever born.

The Governor has removed to York and taken the Council office with him; in the course of the summer we all expect to go; we have commenced business pretty rapidly, I have now about 500 patents that will be issued between this and May. I shall take care of the needful and am greatly distressed for want of the screw press. For God's sake send me one immediately, I am obliged to make use of a common screw jack, put in a frame, which is tedious and very laborious. In the course of the summer I expect to pass more than a thousand grants, etc. I have written this day to Bird to come to us, I think I could do something for him worth his attention after a while. Our country increases rapidly, though [there is] a great scarcity of flour, etc. In fact, a panic is dreaded here as well as abroad. Our love attend you. (Hannah Jarvis adds): I have received great pleasure in perusing yours of the 26th and 27th of September. You I hope have received the answer to those as they much regarded Mr. Jarvis with respect to his office. There are strange arbitrary proceedings going on here (entre nous) it is widespread that our head is not right, grants made out by our Attorney-General, everything done out of form, etc.

We have received in the name of Bird 200 acres on the street called Young (sic.) Street, York. Orders have been sent to erect a hut to secure it.

I cannot say by the description that I wish to settle there; however I go without a word if necessary. Some parts of your letter astonish

me. The children are well and ask when Grandpapa is coming. Mr. Birdseye died in September last, as Bird informs me.

From Mrs. Jarvis, Newark, April 15th, 1796. Your favor bearing date 25th of November, 1795, was received April 3rd, 1796 and that of the 26th and 27th September, '95 was received March 5th, '96. You say that for a native of America you have enough—be it so—but I can very justly inform you that we are thought to have too much, so much so that one-half of the office is adjudged to be necessary for the support of our little Attorney-General who by Council (viz.) Captain Russel, otherwise known as the Receiver-General, Major Æneas Shaw of the Rangers, and our worthy Governor, has orders to make out all grants of land, for which civil action the Secretary is to allow him half the emoluments of said office; and for fear there may be too much remaining to the said Secretary, the same said party have appointed a Registrar in all the different districts, even in the town of Newark, who are to register everything except grants of land. Thus you will see we have too much, if they are suffered to stand in *statu quo*. I hope you have received before this, a packet from the Secretary of the plan, wherein you will see his wish to you and the statement in full of the above. Business suffers through these irregularities. The King thought proper to intrust to the Secretary the office with full power to nominate his deputy,¹⁴ but the Governor who is a greater person, supercedes the authority. This has passed Council, but upon a little resistance on our part and some sharp words, they have rescinded it so far as not to have it appear on the books, but still continue to have the grants made out by the little Attorney General, who is wonderfully assiduous in performing his part. The Secretary is as positive as they and will not sign one only as Registrar and no one attests them, the people refuse them. It is now circulating that the Secretary is an American and the King has given him all the monies, which is the reason that the grants are spread and all the stones at headquarters are turned upside down to rout him out of office.

I doubt it not, and am thankful that "to put out his eyes, will put out both of theirs"; for had business gone on as it ought the Governor would have been richer by some thousands than he is at this moment; in short, he is a military Governor and of course arbitrary. What he says, the Council say, they are but two who do business, and they are seeking to serve themselves at the cost of others.

The grants are ordered to be printed in part, the record book broken up by the same authority, and printed in sheets like unto the grants and filed like newspapers. Thus much for Upper Canada busi-

ness. The Attorney General even alters grants after they have received the Governor's signature, the great seal, and registered and delivered, which has been proved at court not long since by the Secretary, but it was hushed up and a new one ordered to be made out; how this would stand in law I would not undertake to determine. This said Attorney with others have been over to York and (.....words missing) two soldiers to swear to the handwriting of the Secretary on a libel suit heretofore mentioned which was dropped and now is to be renewed on the evidence of two soldiers who wrote in said office three years since.

Poor suit when all is done—it seems that it contained nothing but truth except as regards two people—as says the world.

I fear the petition of Eyer and another will lay on the table like many others—however, it is but trying—there is supposed to be some tight rules concerning passports for rum, etc., contrary to law via Oswego, from below. Also some thoughts of forgery in the like case after signature, this is naught to me.

It is true land has been granted in large tracts, to people as you mention, but Council have ordered that it be done no more, and I am not sure if they will stand good for this reason they have shown before they had their grant in hand. Bird has 200 acres in York, and a log hut up on it 15 x 20 feet which cost him \$30.00 thro' his brother who has four more in the same street with the like improvements and expenses, confirmed of course by conforming to the rules; also a town lot of one acre; and means if possible to have one for Bird adjoining with background of 100 acres, also W. J. has 1200 more on Young (sic.) St. where the other five are all in a row, except two which are one the opposite side of the street, worth at this moment \$ per acre as offered this day—but I say no, no, no!

We have sent for Bird on these conditions; to have board, etc., with us, £60 pocket (money), justice fees, licenced attorney to be procured and assistant Secretary will be tried for which, if obtained, will put him on a footing with anyone here. I hope this will meet your approbation. Silence on this head until you hear it confirmed for fear of accidents and anything else that can or may turn up of service to him. This will net him about £100 Y.C. per year; besides board, etc., with his allowance will be something comfortable, and a relief to you as well in mind as purse.

I am happy to see letters from you, I have one and I had thought I was forgotten by my Father.

I know not what to do, I have been very uneasy, a year and not to hear only by way of others. Why not write me as well as strangers? I have written and written and no answers, thus you see we are all in

(doubt). I wrote and sent forward certificates, up to the 5th January, '96, and would send that of April if the Governor was here. * * * What can be the matter with Carrington and his wife? Is Mary Whitehead married to the Grey that was with Gov. Simcoe, or is it a brother of his?

We are all loyal here. I was much hurt at the King met with. The poor cry out in England, what must they do here? Flour at \$5 and \$6 an hundred and wheat at two dollars and a half per bushel, etc., etc.

At six o'clock on the morning of St. Johns, 27th December, we had the shock of an earthquake, it terrified me very much but not so much as the white fish which left the river and returned not till Good Friday so that from getting 24 for a dollar we have have only 16.

As to the Bishopric of Vermont; I hear no more of it but from yourself. I have been told that Dr. Beach is no friend of yours, was once supposed to be a loyalist, but he has forgotten it now, and wishes no good to those that have been and remain steady to their King.

Mr. Jarvis has orders to remove his office to York by the first of June; at any rate if he does, his family will remain here until such time as he has a house to remove them into. Should you see Capt. Law, you can inform him that his son has left Mr. Dickson; and is in treaty to come and live with Mr. Jarvis. I expect it will be finished to-day.

Mr. Hamilton is well, and says he has it from under your hand that Bishop or not you will come out and see your children this Summer '96. Surely you will not forfeit your word will you? Four finer children you never saw. Maria labours under the misfortune of weak eyes, which keeps her from getting on in her sewing, Augusta has a great ear for music and reads anything, is now in the grammar. John (otherwise P. I.) is a chit of great quickness, sings, spells, in and out of book, in words like cap, act, box, etc., is prone to mischief, wonderfully active, his tongue is the pen of a ready writer. They are learning to write. William is as lovely a boy as you ever saw, 8 months old.

* * * Mr. Addison has bought a farm about four miles from town, where he lives, he is a good man, but not a good sermon-maker; I believe he is much () by his family affairs in London. * * *

Mr. Emerson I heard was not contented here and meant to return to England.

I have not heard of my saddle yet; if you could make it convenient to send me the iron work of a good mangle, with a plate in print to have it made by I should be glad as we have no one here that understands them. Danby is here, has been sick for a long time

owing to the too frequent use of rum it is thought. There is one Wilson and his wife a traitor who say they knew you.

Wm. Jarvis. *Niagara, April 17th, 1796.* Your daughter has left me little to say on any subject in this county, however I cannot omit writing a few lines by so favorable an opportunity. Great things are to be done in a week or two, when the Governor is to make his appearance and the Legislature is to be convened. There has been an Executive Council at York, their doings as yet a profound secret, a few castles in the air have been built no doubt; how can it possibly be otherwise when Capt. Shaw of the Queen's Rangers, Capt. Russel, as well known as Mordicai among the Jews, etc. Alas! Alas! every soul is dissatisfied that inhabits this upper region of the earth except two or three * * * who had the elephant to battle, by a ring in the nose, and a castle on his back, in which they fight under cover.

His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor still persists in his going to England this Fall, I must confess I would like a few hours consultation with him then, as I am much in the habit of speaking my mind which common prudence prevents here. * * *

I have written to Birdseye to come to me and I hope he will comply; he can be of service to me and I to him, and serve himself independently at the same time.

Are you never coming out; if not say so. Don't send mangle irons yet but send a plate of the mangle.

Bernslee sold me his irons for a mangle but would not give me the plate. Our little girls are almost grown up. I sent you a very long letter last Fall with a few blank sheets with my signature only that you might add a memorial if necessary. I wish you would endeavor to obtain the same allowance for stationery, etc., Mr. Pownall has which is £100 for stationery per annum and doing the King's business, for which at present I charge, but it does not net me £30 per annum. The King's business in Commissions, Oyer and Terminer, etc. I have sent you the Stackpole certificate.

Wm. Jarvis. *Niagara, March 23rd, 1798.* How could you have fallen on so unkind a project to conceal your situation as to forbid us writing to you, because you were about to take your passage to America.

How pleasing were our prospects of once more meeting you, the subject of morning, noon and nights, when with our little flock we were assembled, who all have a perfect knowledge of Grandpapa, from the frequent conversations about him. You must have known that were it possible for the reports that prevail here about your being confined, to be true, we must have heard it sooner or later, and the later period it came to our ears, the deeper it would wound.

Your daughter writes you by this conveyance; will you have the goodness to let me know from yourself, the exact state of your affairs and situation for whom security and for what amount, etc., etc.

Your daughter's grief is incessant, from the idea of your confinement and her disappointment at not seeing you.

I have written to Mr. Scott by this conveyance and requested him to pay Mr. Perberry £34 18s 0d. from an order from him and your daughter's Treasury allowance with the proviso that reports of your being confined in the King's Bench be without foundation, you are not in need of assistance, but should these unaccountable reports be founded (on facts) then to pay the whole into your hands, with the addition of £50 sterling per annum from me upon your order during your confinement, which I will gratefully and cheerfully pay to the last shirt on my back. I wish much to hear from yourself. For God's sake come to us and be a help and guide to me, and a blessing to your posterity. I want not for enemies, powerful interest and exertions have been adopted to unseat me, but as yet without effect; to die game, I am determined, at all events.

How happy is Mrs. Elmsley with her father, old Mr. Hallowell, the old gentleman amuses himself with superintending all domestic affairs; which enables the Chief Justice to devote himself to official matters. I often think of him born under the same planet or star Agneau. Then why not my beloved Father spend the remnant that is left of your existence in the nursery of your affectionate daughter.

We have plenty of milk and honey, we want but one thing to make us comparatively happy; yet that only one, you deny us. It is both cruel and unkind of you, not to let your children be perpetually happy when the power is in your own hands.

William Jarvis. York, Jan. 31st, 1799. This goes by Col. Shank of the Queen's Rangers, who is on the King's leave, he has promised faithfully to see you and deliver our letters; we were transported with joy 3 weeks since, in having a transcript of your letter to us, through Ryckman of New York, by Mrs. Jarvis my brother Samuel's wife, in which you did not answer my letter so fully as I could wish. Thank God the reports we had heard of you were not true.

Was Carmen and Tustead, the stationers, satisfied? Why did not Mr. Scott answer my letters? I am afraid you are not altogether to be depended upon, in regard to your own health and situation; come to us I conjure you. Here I think you would find amusement in almost every scene of domestic felicity. I stand in need of your counsel in many points and your society would be a blessing inestimable.

We have five lovely boys and girls. Maria is a stout girl almost grown up, and Augusta treads close upon her heels, Samuel Peters is a sprightly, lovely boy; Wm. Munson his equal in every point but stouter of his age; Hannah Owen Dunn is a sweet babe just beginning to prattle and run about. We have a tolerable house in town and I have a 100-acre lot adjoining the town on which I am making a small farm, but experience has taught me that I need your advice in managing it. I have two negro men and two negro women their wives; the men are good, one of the women is tolerable and the other a devil was brought up in the family of old Mrs. Harrison in Boston. Good God, how pleasant it would be once more to see you embrace your child and her lovely offspring; rest assured this country produces nothing like them, you may well be vain but I can support the assertion.

What can you see in London that will bear a comparison with the comfort your presence would be to yourself and children. Come to us for God's sake, we have house-room in abundance, your counsel would be a relief to me, I have enemies in all quarters, the open ones I soon bring to their senses, but sometimes I suffer by (word missing). Ben Hallowell yesterday fell from his horse, and much bruised himself, tho' he thinks lightly of it. Your daughter envies his daughter her happiness; I fear^{ts} the old gentleman is not to last long.

I do a great deal of business in my office but to very little account. I am in reality a man of property without being able to command scarcely a most trifling sum. I have completed in three years past here, 4,000 grants, but such as are liable to pay full fees, are left in the office. Here are grants liable to pay full fees, at this moment lying in the Secretary's office to the amount of \$4,000 Halifax dollars at 5/. The expenses of which are a serious drawback on me.

I have never less than three and most of the time four persons employed in my office. Had I you with me, I could place my head on the pillow in peace, but I assure you it is not the case at present; your residing with us would enable you to be very much at your ease; not one farthing's difference would it be to us, but on the contrary I am persuaded it would save some hundred pounds in the year.

As the position of Secretary of the Government is still vacant why not try and get it? I suppose it would not be less than two or three hundred a year salary. I think it would be a situation more independent than the Mountain of Quebec. All things considered, for God's sake, do accept something of the kind and come to us next Spring. I understand there is shortly to be a University built here at the

expense of the Government, perhaps an appointment of some sort might be acceptable to you in that way. Should you come out it will be necessary for you to get the King's order (through the Duke of Portland) to receive your lands under the old regulations to prevent your paying a fee for survey of 6d. an acre, besides the usual fee. As all Loyalists by the last order from the King are excluded the benefit of the old regulation. General Arnold¹⁶ and his family were excluded by the Executive Council of the Province, from being non-resident, but a late order from the King's Minister has entitled them all to the land, free from any expense whatever to themselves, which has not gone down very well with some among us.

Lately arrived here among us Count de Puisye, a lieutenant under the late King of France, with a suite of his officers. There are a considerable number of them in Kingston who arrived so late that they could not reach here, on account of the navigation of the lake having closed for the season.

The Count informed me one day at dinner with us, that there were about 20,000 in like situation with himself who wished to emigrate to Upper Canada. The Count with other nobles of France, with about 20 French soldiers are now residing about 15 miles back of York on Yonge St., that leads over to Lake Huron.

There is to be a French settlement upon Lake Simcoe (formerly Lake de Clay (Claes) of which place the Count is Chaplain of the French emigrants is on his route. He is the man who commanded the French Loyalists in Vendee or Quiberon Bay. I like him very much, he is I think much like General Simcoe in point of size and deportment and without exception the finest looking man I ever saw. Every encouragement in their location is given by the Council; the King's stores of all kinds are open to them.

You will see by the enclosed that the Wilkins of Birmingham have made a demand of a balance of £150 7s. 9d.; never was anything more regular than the entries of the debt being paid them stands on my books; from the waste book to the Ledger of Day, date for what goods, etc., which appear the identical goods. They have made a demand to be paid for what never can have the smallest pretext; I think after this. Do write us very particularly about all our old friends. Now for the last time let me entreat you, my honoured and dear Sir, to come to us; what joy, what comfort, what earthly blessing could equal it, or have a comparison with an interview in this country. Come, oh! come, I conjure you in the name of Heaven. Adieu.

Samuel Jarvis, Stamford, Conn., July 26th, 1800. Your favor of March 10th came safe to hand, with that of Dr. Smith's which I

delivered and he was much pleased and told me he would answer it soon, but it would take some time to write to a man of a literary character and believe me, my dear brother, that is always what embarrasses me when I am writing to such a person, but your known goodness readily tells me, that you will overlook any little inaccuracies that may drop from my pen. I should have answered your letter long before this; had I not expected Birdseye here, but the reason you will be informed by the enclosed from my daughter, and your daughter who left this morning unexpectedly.

She set out for Canada on the 24th day of July and we conclude she has arrived by this time. Mr. and Mrs. Ryckman and my daughter Harriet all accompanied her as far as Schenectady, where she took the stage. She was very fortunate in her company, a Mr. Keyler and Ramsay her neighbors, who I trust will pay every attention to her. She has as fine a child as ever was born, it was hard parting with the little angel.

You say you are more and more inclined to see your native land. I pray God you may put these good intentions into prosecution and leave that part of the globe that seems to be cursed with wars, pestilence and shedding one another's blood, as tho' we were born to be our own executioners.

Am very sorry you did not give me a hint of your willingness of becoming the successor of Dr. Dibble¹⁷ a little sooner, as nothing would have given us more pleasure and satisfaction than such an event had it taken place. Some time before I had your letter we had settled the Rev. Mr. White in our church; he is a native of Middletown in this state; he is a likely, promising man. There is a number of vacant churches in this state. Norwalk at present is vacant. Dr. Smith will remove from there this Autumn on account of some difficulty that has taken place between him and the people which we all lament, as he is a person of real abilities and a great supporter of the church and the doctrines we hold to. You know the Scotch blood is full of mercury. There are two vacancies in New York, the young gentleman who was employed in St. Mark's, a new church built in the Bowery, was by accident killed by a horse running away with him in a carriage at Charleston, South Carolina. His name was Calahon, belonging to that place, was educated in this place and ordained by Bishop Jarvis. The other vacancy in the churches in the city; Rev. Mr. Baptist being discharged on account of his drinking too freely, was allowed to be the best preacher in New York, and in every other respect a pious good man. He is a single person, has no family and of course his children will not cry for bread, on that account.

And one more favor I am going to ask you to do and that is to inform me if Dr. Dibble has for late years received his salary from the Society or donation that will amount to the same thing.

My aged Mother desires to be remembered to you with my youngest brother Seymour who lives with her, they are both well.

Bishop Jarvis was here with us a few days past, he is very infirm and out of health. The clergy all remain pretty much as they did when I wrote you last. No deaths have taken place since.

I was at Watertown in June last as a lay delegate to the Convention of Churches. The clergy were generally there. The Bishop preached his convention sermon, and the son of our late Bishop Seabury read service. But why do I trouble you with such trifling things—not long since I was at Stratford, old Mr. Birdseye was then well and expressed a great desire of once more seeing you. Religion seems declining in that part of the world, tho' our church here is increasing. * * *

There is now a great contest here for a new President. The Northern statesmen for Adams, and the Southern for Jefferson, and some for Pinckney. Who will be the man God only knows. Pray write me soon as you conveniently can and let me know when we may be made all happy in the arrival of an old friend and brother this side of the Atlantic; pray leave a country that seems cursed with wars and spilling one another's blood, etc.

This year is crowned with the greatest crops ever known of all kinds of produce; we are able to give bread to almost the whole world, the great demand in foreign markets keeps ours high; wheat is now two dollars per bushel, corn one; but we expect they will fall soon. We join in love and prayers for your safe arrival. My daughter Ryckman is with us and sends her best respects. God bless you.

Hannah Jarvis, York, Oct. 23rd, 1800. Your much esteemed favor by Capt. Smith was received in August; they informed me that you had given over all thought of visiting this country. Alas! why so sudden a change, I am quite at a loss to find a reason. How has your petition been answered; if favorable what is to retard your expedition. We have said in former letters as far as our abilities would let us we would satisfy Mr. Scott; but it seems as if some evil Starr sat hovering around us, and new difficulties succeed like clouds of smoke from a fire, to make you think that we wish to delay. The very idea that you should have a thought of this kind racks my whole frame. With new heads we have new everything; with do it and think hereafter. A Head we indeed have, but we are told it might as well be a sheep's for any good resulting therefrom. A tongue it possesses which works like Echo in a cave. Its master lives in an outbuilding.

It can say and unsay, as an American Scot directs, whose exalted station has turned his brain into contempt of mankind and calloused his heart against his own countrymen or any other animal that dares an opinion of its own.

This tongue you would imagine had had a scholastic education in the deepest recesses of Billingsgate with all its ornaments, improvements, embellishments and improvements of a well-bred Tar. Judge now for yourself, I dare not say more, but be not too hasty in your opinion or regard for your children; their will is good and I hope to convince you that what has been asserted is no chimera before it be long. My father has often said, "Let me never be dependent on the mercy of my children". I have repeated and considered them often. If your answer is as I hope from the Lord, why not make over all to Mr. Scott taking what will be necessary to defray your expenses to us, and with my allowance and Bird's surely it will soon extricate you.

Besides what otherwise may be remitted I herewith transmit you a copy of a letter written me by Sylvester Gilbert's contents are by no means satisfactory to me. I desired Bird to write again; no answer yet. What makes me more solicitous is that you would never (had it not been my letter to Gilbert) received a farthing from Bates. I am sure by their statement you will be able to see if he has paid the interest justly. Gilbert's letter wants explanation.

Young Bernislee Peters who left a few days since and was here to take up such grants as were remaining for his late Father, informed me that Andrew Mann¹⁹ had divided off such part of my Grandfather's²⁰ estate as was thought to be (word missing) with yours adjoining, had sold it and paid his brother Nathaniel's debts to you with your own money. This he gave as the general opinion of the people of Hebron. He lives at Ballstown. The property sold for 50/ an acre. Andrew is thought to be an arrant swindler and has nearly ruined his father. It is thought that he will be obliged to refund if you make your appearance. I hope you will see through Gilbert's letter. Statistical account for moveables personal is not stated nor do I understand what is meant if you never had a statement from him. I fear it is gone as he is dead. Bernislee is going to Hebron when he returns and find out all particulars in his power and write me the whole. Perhaps he will have a grateful heart and let me into a secret long hidden, by which means truth may once more assume his right; I shall not fail to give you notice of all; if I do not hear of your leaving England ere I gain such intelligence.

On the 18th February the letter is continued giving some family details. Augusta who had been poorly had been taken to Kingston

"to find what the water and change of air would do" but there "took the ague", etc. The letter continues: We were in hopes of having Bird made Clerk of the Assembly, but I fear we will not succeed, altho' the members are nearly all for him; *John* the half *Scot* is of opinion that they have no right to nominate, of course he has the re-nomination under the rose as it falls into the paws of the Head, who is well known to bark when directed. No redress! No one in the Cabinet is sure of favors, for one voice is enough; one of the late members said he thought the house had but one thing to do, that is to vote a set of silk caps for themselves, which were to be pulled over their eyes when a question arose that required their sanction. Another thought there was no necessity for their attendance, as one man could as well do all they had to do, as well when they were absent as present.

Aunt Powell is very desirous to see you as are your children and grand-children. We have the son of Parson Stuart as * * *

(Note: Remainder of letter missing).

William Jarvis. York, Nov. 6th, 1801, to Isaac Scott. Your favor of June 17th, 1801, was received by me on the 25th ulto. The contents have given me much distress of mind; altho' it refers to promises of assistance in my former letters to our beloved parent, yet I assure you these promises have never been for one moment out of our minds and every effort on my part as far as economy and industry could reach to accomplish so desirable an end have been strictly practised by me, and every member of my family. But a change in the person administering this Government has thrown me into an unexpected and unavoidable expense and laid upon me with so strong an arm that self-preservation became my only object, in patience, perseverance and silence was, as the event has shown, my strength. I should have often written but dare not put pen to paper. For further particulars I must refer you to letters that accompany this. For years past at the end of every year I was sure that I would have sufficient to spare to relieve Dr. Peters but by some unforeseen circumstances I have uniformly been disappointed; I still beg to assure you that I will not only give half but every farthing I possess on earth in accomplishing so much desired an end as to satisfy you and relieve Dr. Peters from his embarrassed situation. Self-preservation has been the great struggle with me for more than two years last past, but the struggle seems at length to be at an end; and I further beg to assure you that I do not think the period far distant when I shall be enabled to do something satisfactory with you and Dr. Peters.

Same letter. Hannah Jarvis. York, Nov. 6th, 1801. My beloved Father's letter bearing date June 18th, 1801, was handed me yesterday enclosed from Mr. Addison, the only one since 3rd March, 1800, and had I not once or twice heard of you through Patty's letters from her Mother, I believe my heart would have broken long ere this. It is but a few days since she received a letter from her friend, wherein a paragraph from one of yours declaring your intention was never again writing to us, and censuring us cruelly (tho' I must confess appearance was against us) for not having complied with our promises. This not having been done is not our fault. My heart was so full, my mind was so distressed at the repeated disappointments we met with, when I thought I had the money in my hand, that I had not courage to tell you of it. We have the promise of the money which will I hope relieve you and Mr. Scott and bring my beloved, blessed parent to my arms, that he may see I still possess the same disposition as I used to do, and that I may in some degree return to him in his advanced age what he gave me in my youth. I repeat that we (i.e.) Mr. Jarvis and myself, have the promise of \$1,200 by the first of January, 1802, and if no disappointment steps in again to prevent the man coming forward, that sum shall be forwarded by Bill as soon after as possible and Mr. Scott and you may rest assured that the whole shall be paid, if God spares my life and I hope that he (Mr. Scott) will still extend his bounty towards you until we can supply you with the needful. I wish by all means when you do set out for this country that you bring Ann Griffen with you; it will give me great comfort to know you have her with you; as I am certain she will do all in her power to make everything comfortable for you.

We could have sold our land long since over and over but produce was not what we wanted and the money could not be had. There are grants to the amount of £12,000 now laying in the hands of the Secretary, his share will be from £1,200 to £2,000 sterling, and cannot command a penny. Is ordered by the Gov. P. H.¹² to have in readiness as many grants as possible for his signature on his arrival as he winters in Lower Canada, to accomplish which he has ordered the Surveyor-General, the Council Officer and his own Clerk to make out 48 each by the winter during his absence, and three soldiers to write in the Secretary's office. The Secretary has to find fuel for the office, clerks are all at the Secretary's expense also, and for fear that he should gain a sixpence by purchasing stationery at a cheaper rate he has confined him to Lower Canada, where everything is inferior and dearer by one-third than in New York, and next ordered the Receiver-General to furnish the Secretary with parchment, wax, etc., to be stopped out of the profit arising from the grants.

He ordered him to furnish immediately the office with 3,000 sheets of parchment, wax, etc., and to make prompt payment for the same or he would suspend him in the failing thereof within such a time. The Secretary endeavored to remonstrate with him the impossibility of complying with the order, by saying the office was greatly in his debt, to which in a great passion he politely but indirectly, for he did not think proper to do it directly, damned him and told him he did not inquire about the office, that he must do as he was bid, or take the consequences. He lived two miles from the town where the Secretary has been obliged to go, from two to four times a day, in the heat of the most sultry weather we had during the Summer, when a written answer would have answered every purpose. Up from four in the morning to ten at night and frequently called out of his bed for some trifling thing or other. The Secretary has come home crying like a child from the treatment he met with and dare not open his lips, those who saw the manner he was treated advised him to command himself and be silent; as words were what was sought for, that some hold might be had against him.

The Chief is as great a tyrant as the Governor, but not so *great* a *blackguard*, the latter his own countrymen do not hesitate to say had his first instructions at the tail of a fish-cart, and from his known tyrannical disposition has received the appointment in order to disgust the whole Province. It is an old proverb "that two of the same coat cannot agree", wherefore the two chiefs are like two stormy cats in a garret. The language held out by John is "That the Americans are not trustworthy, they are only fit for hewers of timber and drawers of water". In short he thinks no one ought to exist but himself and a *Scotchman*. He seems to forget that he and his wife were born in America. "The Secretary's office is too good for an American," therefore it is the determination to reduce it as much as possible (the income) so as to disgust and discourage the present incumbent and force him to resign; but if I am permitted to have a voice, I will advise never to quit as long as bread and water will support nature. They, with all their art have not been able to find fault with him in regard to his duty and [know] that his office is the most regular in Upper Canada, and gives more real satisfaction.

They have cut him down from his first fees, and are constantly doing something to create expense and injure his pocket. Had you, my dear Father, been here he would have escaped, for of you they are afraid and will do everything to prevent your joining us. Thus you will see that trouble never comes alone. Thus have we been prevented doing what was our full intention to have done long since,

thus it is to have to do with others when no reason will be heard, when no question can be asked, or if asked, only answered with dreadful oaths.

The Secretary knows not my writing this, but I am determined you shall know something of his sufferings, that you may not so severely censure his conduct, since I cannot think that he or any of us deserves it, and our feelings, I will take it upon me to say, have been as acute as could be possible, more than my pen can describe.

I am little less gray than you were when I left you. I am an old woman by fretting for your company and misfortunes; I go nowhere, see no company, have not for two years past, except my brother's family who dine with us every Sunday that the weather will admit them to do. I make or rather I have turned tailress for my family not even the Secretary excepted.

You have a grandson Peters, born 31st July, and a grand-daughter (Jarvis) 7th of August * * * a perfect beauty; Maria, Augusta, Samuel, William, Hannah and Poppit. As yet all are well and are asking: When shall we see Grandpapa, Mamma, is he well, what keeps him so long?" * * * oh, how these questions wring my poor heart, already so distressed as to have little comfort, either sleeping or waking. My tortured imagination is seeking new miseries tumbling headlong upon my absent parent. May my God look upon my anxieties and enable me to fulfil such engagements as may render the parent of my affection rest and peace hereafter. Adieu, my dear friend Scott continue his goodness a little longer.

Nov. 8th. The vessel having been detained by contrary winds, I embrace the delay to inform you that your grandchildren were baptized this day by the names of Samuel Jarvis (Peters) and Ann Elizabeth (Jarvis).

Nov. 10th. In some former letter to you and Mr. Scott we mentioned the mortgaging land to Mr. Scott for security of such monies as he had advanced to you—not that we intended to pay him in land, for they were worth double what was required, but to assure Mr. Scott of our just intentions towards him and because that money was so scarce at that time that it was hardly possible to procure a few dollars. People coming from the States with goods take all the loose money that is in circulation, by underselling the merchants of this place. The letters alluded to I imagine have not reached you or certainly you would have said yea or nay to their contents, for if they did not meet with your approbation that was meant, there could have been no harm in stating the objections why they were not satisfactory.

Perhaps Mr. Scott thought our intentions were to pay him in hand. I do assure you that they were and are double the value, and raising daily, and of course we should not be willing to part with them, if we could prevent it by any means, but to assure him of our intentions and to expedite your leaving the country; this was our sincere wish however ill it has succeeded. I have been informed by undoubted authority that the expense of the Secretary's office for the last year amounted to upwards of \$2,600 merely for clerks and stationery the great part of which has been paid by the Secretary, and [with that] which lays dormant in said office. Such enormous expenditure will I hope convince you that he must have been pretty hard run and had he not been so cruelly dealt with, you would have had no occasion to have lamented that you were neglected by those whom it was their duty to provide and protect at all times, much more such a trying one as at present. I trust if this reaches you it will put a different aspect upon the business, in defiance of malice and false representations of which I think I can hit the author with one eye shut. However I shall be judge whether to keep a spare bed and room without consulting the convenience of my acquaintances.

Judge for yourself whether reports can be such. We have not for two years kept any company except calls in the morning and these very seldom. The sun rises seldom and finds Mr. Jarvis in bed, but into the fields with his men. At 6 o'clock in the summer and seven in winter he breakfasts and everyone in his employment after. It appears to me that the more a person retires from the world and wishes not to meddle with people's affairs, the more envious, curious and ill-natured are the observations that follow. We do not pry into our neighbours' concerns, still they persecute us on all sides, confining themselves not to truth, which makes the matter more conspicuous when detected. * * * Oh could I see you once more, etc., I should consider myself in a new world. * * * I am pleased with Fields and the [word missing] for remembering my parent in the midst of his misfortunes. Adieu. Once more live oh live my Father to see your truly affectionate child; peace can never rest in her heart should fate ordain it otherwise. Blessing on the benefactor of my beloved parent and his kindness shall be rewarded.

(The last letter of the series is from Mrs. Jarvis and dated years later: York, March 4th, 1813, to Dr. Peters, then living in New York.)

The length of time which has elapsed since I heard from you appears almost an age. Col. Bushe who is on his way to New York, has been so polite as to say he would take charge of a letter to you,

induces me to accept his offer, to inform you that the family are all well. Mr. Jarvis has been confined with the gout since Xmas till within a week and for four winters has been the same. My second son William has been extremely ill with pleurisy, his life was dispaired of, he is now on the recovery. My daughters, Maria Hamilton and Augusta McCormick, have each a son. Birdseye's family are well and live near me, he lately lost his son Albert, supposed to be bowel complaint. He has a son about five months old named Hugh Albert.

If this should be so fortunate as to find you I hope you will let me hear from you soon.

(The series closes with a quaint and interesting letter from Dr. Peters to William Jarvis, from New York, dated June, 1816. Though he was then 81 years of age the long letter is written in a firm, clear hand, with few erasures. It is addressed to "My beloved children, grand and great grand-children," and affirms "My consolation is highly increased by hearing of your prosperity in the good and honourable fortune of your children, which I impute to the prudent instructions of their parents." After news of various members of the family, he writes, "You and William Birdseye Peters, and your children, are my only children. My request is that you love one another with sincerity and tenderness whilst I live and after my demise—this is my last Will and wish.")

Maria married Hon. George Hamilton, founder of Hamilton, Ont., the 2nd son of Hon. Robert Hamilton, in July 1806.

THE END.



Notes

¹Note: Dr. John Doty, born in New York, 1745, a direct descendant of Edward Doty, a Pilgrim Father of 1620. Educated at Kings (now Columbia College, N.Y.), went to England for ordination. His first charge was Peekskill, N.Y., but he was in Schenectady in 1775 when the revolution broke out. A known loyalist he was harshly treated on several occasions and repeatedly arrested. Finally in 1777 being made a prisoner, he was granted liberty to move to Canada. At Montreal he was made chaplain to H.M. Royal Regiment of New York, the 60th. In 1781 his duty as chaplain was taken by his fellow-loyalist, Mr. John Stuart. In 1783 he was appointed to Sorel, where on Christmas Day, 1785, was opened for service "the first protestant church in old Canada." Dr. Doty was twice asked to return to charges in his native land, and for a short time appears to have been Rector to St. Anne's Church, Brooklyn, N.Y., returning however to Sorel, which he resigned in 1803. Died at Three Rivers, 1841.

²John Gray, 1st President of the Bank of Montreal.

³Rev. Philip Toosey, recommended by Lord Dorchester and Bishop Inglis for the proposed Bishopric of Quebec. He proceeded to England to urge his claims and issued a memorial which says that the Archbishop of Canterbury has promised to state his claims, and refers to Lord Dorchester and Gen. Alured Clarke, Lieut.-Governor of Quebec. After the creation of the See of Quebec, Dr. Mountain appointed Mr. Toosey as his Commissary, his salary being £150. He returned to Quebec in 1794, not sailing with "the Thirteen Mountians" in 1793 as he was busily engaged in forming a colony of agriculturists for settlement on his lands near Quebec. At Stoneham, 16 miles from the city he settled, spending lavishly on clearing land and building a large home with pleasure grounds and gardens in English style. He died in 1797.

⁴Major Littlehales, Military Secretary to Governor Simcoe, wrote the Journal of the Exploring Expedition from Niagara to Detroit in 1793.

⁵Sir George Pownal, Secretary and Registrar of Lower Canada. Salary, £400.

⁶Sir John Johnson had hoped that his great services to the Crown would lead to his being made Lieut.-Governor.

⁷Capt. Peter Russell, 64th Regt., Receiver-General of U.C., 1792-1808. Later Administrator, 1796-1899.

⁸Capt. Lethbridge, 6th Regt., later Colonel and Major-General.

⁹The Upper Canada Gazette, first issue Thursday, April 18th, 1793.

¹⁰Otherwise Levi or Levy Allen, brother of Ethan and Ira Allen, by whom Dr. Peters had been deceived. The Simcoe papers, vol. 1, p. 962 and 128, give a hint of the character borne by the brothers.

¹¹Now Cornwall.

¹²Gen. Simcoe had strongly recommended Dr. Peters appointment as bishop, even offering to give up £500 of his own income towards the stipend, while Toosey was the choice of Lord Dorchester in whose family he had been tutor and of Alured Clarke, the Lieut.-Governor of Quebec. When Governors of Provinces recommend for a vacant office each his own choice, it is likely neither will be appointed. A compromise is inevitable. The See was offered to the Right Reverend Jacob Mountain, who was consecrated on the 7th of July, 1793, first Bishop of Quebec.

¹³"Mad" Anthony Wayne, the American General.

¹⁴Alexander Macdonell formerly in Butter's Rangers.

¹⁵Letter to Munson Jarvis, p. 284, Scadding's Toronto of old.

¹⁶Mr. Hallowell died March 28, 1799, aged 75 years, an account of his family is given in The Loyalists of Massachusetts.

¹⁷Gen. Benedict Arnold received a grant of 5000 acres in the Tps. of N. and E. Gwillinbury.

¹⁸Ebenezer Dibble or Dibble, in charge of the mission at Stamford, Conn. and at Greenwich. His work at Sharon led to the building of a church there, and he was largely instrumental in the building of a new church at Danbury. Though a loyalist, he remained at his post, but suffered from the inability of the congregation he served to support him comfortably. He was one of the many clergymen who after peace was declared, sought the help of Dr. Peters—he was apparently offered a mission in Nova Scotia by the S.P.G., but through age and the infirmity of an insane daughter, was unable to accept. He died in 1799.

¹⁹Probably a brother-in-law of Dr. Peters, whose second wife was Abigail Gilbert, daughter of Judge Samuel Gilbert of Hebron.

²⁰After the peace Dr. Peters appointed his brother-in-law, John Mann (who married Margaret Peters, his sister), and his son, Dr. Nathaniel, his agents or attorneys to settle his property affairs in Hebron, where he had much real estate. Andrew Mann evidently belonged to the same family.

²¹Cyrus Owen of Hebron was Mrs. Jarvis' grandfather; by an old map the estates adjoin.

²²Speaking of Governor Peter Hunter Dr. Scadding says, "all functionaries from the judge on the bench to the humblest employe held office in those days very literally during pleasure." Toronto of Old, p. 418.

²³This shows that his daughter had not forgotten the terrors of mob rule.

Though suffering much obloquy and persecution Dr. Peters preached on Sept. 4th, 1774, from the text—"Oh, that my head were waters and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the transgressions of my people." Referring no doubt, to the riots of the preceding week in Cambridge, Mass. On Tuesday 6th, he was mobbed and being again threatened he fled, leaving behind his daughter and infant son.

